The Outlook

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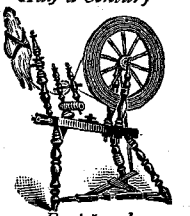

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1906

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A Federal Child Labor Law

Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, proposes to make child labor reform a National issue by introducing a bill early in the present session of Congress to regulate child labor by a Federal law. It has become clear that it is hopeless to expect the evils of child labor to be remedied by State laws; public opinion varies in different States; the power of the manufacturing interests concentrated in one State, as Georgia, for instance, outbalances the efforts of the philanthropists; and, above all, the purely imaginary character of State boundaries makes it impossible to enforce regulations in a factory or mine on one side of a State line when a competing rival just across the border has no restrictions imposed upon him. Persistent efforts have been made without avail to induce the State Legislatures to enact uniform legislation. Mine and factory owners, who are the largest employers of child labor, are not, however, by any means all slave-drivers, and a majority of them would welcome a law which would apply to all employers alike. A mine operator who sees his severest competitor employing children under age and over hours is almost forced to adopt the same methods, however personally distasteful to him. These are the conditions that Senator Beveridge, with the earnest indorsement of the National Child Labor Committee, proposes to deal with by Federal statute. Such a statute must do more than commend itself to the philanthropic feelings of good men and women; it must be Constitutional in character and practical in operation. Senator Beveridge meets these two necessities in a very ingenious way. A Federal law prohibiting child labor in factories and mines would undoubtedly be unconstitutional, for it would be an invasion of the province of the State; but there is good ground for the opinion that Congress has the Constitutional power to forbid the common carriers engaged in inter-State commerce to transport the products of child labor.

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The Operation of the Law

Senator Beveridge's plan is to forbid every carrier of inter-State commerce to transport the products of factories and mines employing children under the age of fourteen years. The carrier cannot, of course, be expected to know the character in this respect of every package, bale, or car which it accepts for shipment; but it must protect itself by an affidavit, in a form prescribed by the Department of Commerce and Labor, from the factory or mine owner that he does not employ the forbidden child labor. Thus the carrier, in order to protect himself, will be made to exact the affidavits from the mines and factories, and the penalty for issuing false affidavits is a severe one. It is objected to this plan that it will require an army of Government inspectors to enforce it. The reply is made by Senator Beveridge and the National Child Labor Committee that the initiative may be perfectly well left to voluntary associations like the Child Labor Committee and to private citizens. All that it will be necessary to do when a factory or mine comes under general public suspicion for violation of the law will be to send a complaint to the Department of Commerce and Labor asking for an inspection of the case. If the Department finds sufficient evidence, it will bring a suit against the offender. It is not supposed, of course, that this remedy can reach child labor products sold through jobbing houses, nor will it entirely correct the evil. The advantages claimed for the proposed law are, first, that it

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can reach most of the great factories and mines which are the chief offenders in the really terrible abuse of child workers; and, second, it proposes a uniform method of dealing with what is really a National evil. Senator Beveridge's plan deserves the sympathetic and careful consideration of every one who recognizes that the physically and mentally stunted children to be found in large numbers in some of the great workshops in the country constitute one of the crying industrial evils of the time.

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Commissioner Garfield and the Standard Oil Trust

Some time ago Commissioner Garfield, of the Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce, prepared special reports on the transportation of petroleum. One of these dealt with railway discriminations favoring the Standard Oil Company, and was submitted to Congress. The discriminations gave to that company an overwhelming advantage in transportation in almost all sections. Largely because of such a system, the Standard had restricted and eliminated competition. The discrimination took various forms, often extraordinarily ingenious, and so well concealed that their existence was frequently not suspected even by the Standard's active competitors, although the latter knew that, in general, they were doing business disadvantageously. The discovery of this system of discrimination was made by the agents of the Bureau of Corporations when examining the oil-shipping records and the accounts of various railways. As a result, the Department of Justice took action, and indictments containing nearly nine thousand counts were returned by various Grand Juries. The claim that the devices by which the discriminations were obtained are permissible under the law seems untenable, according to Mr. Garfield in his just published annual report:

> The purpose of the law is to provide equality of opportunity and treatment to all shippers. The law deals with the result, not the device by which the result is accomplished. The more clever the device the more flagrant s the violation of the law, for willful intent to evade is shown. If this be not the true interpretation of the law, it becomes worse than useless, because it offers false security and opens the door to fraud.

A welcome result followed the Commissioner's investigation. The railways canceled substantially not only all the secret rates, the improper and illegal discriminations, but in many cases the discrimination in open rates. Mr. Garfield can say with just pride:

> A widespread system of railway discrimination was wiped out of existence because of this discovery by the agents of the Bureau, and before any prosecutions were brought thereon. The shippers of oil advise the Bureau that, for the first time in many years, they are now rapidly obtaining equality of treatment from the transportation companies.

Thus the Standard Oil investigation has convincingly illustrated the power of efficient publicity to correct corporate abuses. The change in an unfair if not illegal system was brought about by a mere exposure. The Commissioner aptly says that the action of the railway officers was all the more striking because it could hardly have been taken to escape criminal liability, inasmuch as that liability, if existing at all, had already been incurred and could not be mitigated or averted by cancellation of the discriminatory rate; further, the voluntary action was an admission of the unfairness of the rate. The Bureau's investigations, the effect of the new law increasing the Inter-State Commerce Commission's powers, the result of the prosecutions under the anti-trust law, and the reasons compelling the enactment of the meat inspection and pure food laws, are certainly sufficient causes to lead Mr. Garfield to reiterate his suggestion, outlined in his 1904 and 1905 reports, for Federal supervision of our greater industrial corporations. A Federal license for such corporations is the end for which he thinks we should strive. With the Commissioner, The Outlook believes that such a plan would not interfere with the power and authority of the States, would not invade private rights, would restore individual responsibility, would afford a means for acquiring accurate information, and, above all, would provide the most effective means of dealing with tricky managers of corporations, because it would provide that the penalty for violation of

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law should be revocation of license and the consequent denial of opportunity to engage in inter-State commerce.

Secretary Taft on the Brownsville Affair

The subject of most immediate interest discussed in the annual report of the Secretary of War, made public last week, was the discharge of a battalion of the Twenty-fifth Infantry. Secretary Taft describes the conditions precedent to the disorder at Brownsville, reports the evidence which incontrovertibly connected the soldiers with the shooting and the murder, and the results of the investigation by Inspector-General Garlington, which convinced General Garlington, the Department officials, the Secretary of War, and the President that the men of the battalion were united in a conspiracy of silence to protect the criminals. Mr. Taft then, with admirable clearness and logic and with judicial temper, states the reasons which not only justified the dismissal of the battalion, but made it necessary. This statement is substantially as follows: From nine to twenty men from a battalion of 170 men formed a preconcerted plan to revenge themselves upon the people of a town for the insults which they felt had been heaped upon them. They left their barracks about midnight and fired into the houses of the town for the purpose of killing those against whom they had a grievance. They did kill one man, wound another, and seriously injure the chief of police. There can be no doubt, therefore, that this squad of men were guilty of murder in the first degree; the purpose of one was the purpose of all. Within a few minutes after the crime was committed, the men returned to their places in the ranks (a call to arms having been sounded), and must have been among the last men to take their places, for the firing continued after the formations had begun. The absence of the rifles from the racks could not have escaped the attention of the sergeants who had the keys; yet all the sergeants swear that the rifles were in the racks, untouched. It is impossible that many of the battalion who did not take part as active members of the conspiracy were not made aware, by one circumstance or another, of the identity of the persons who committed the offense. Instead of giving to their officers or the inspectors the benefit of anything which they knew tending to lead to a conviction of the guilty men, there was a conspiracy of silence on the part of many who must have had some knowledge of importance. The murderers were taken back into the battalion and protected entirely from punishment. Here Secretary Taft pertinently asks:

> Is the Government helpless? Must it continue in its service a battalion many of the members of which show their willingness to condone a crime of a capital character committed by from ten to twenty of its members, and put on a front of silence and ignorance which enables the criminals to escape just punishment? These enlisted men took the oath of allegiance to the Government, and were to be used under the law to maintain its supremacy. Can the Government properly, therefore, keep in its employ for the purpose of maintaining law and order any longer a body of men, from five to ten per cent. of whom can plan and commit murder, and rely upon the silence of a number of their companions to escape detection?

Mr. Taft calls attention to the fact that "when a man enlists in the army he knows that, for the very purpose of protecting itself, the Government reserves to itself the absolute right of discharge, not as a punishment, but for the public safety or interest." He thus corrects the supposition that the discharge is a punishment either of the innocent or the guilty. He says further:

> The discharge "without honor" is merely the ending of a contract and separation from the service under a right reserved in the statute for the protection of the Government, which may work a hardship to the private discharged, but which, in the public interest, must sometimes be arbitrarily exercised.

In conclusion, he considers the possibility of the re-enlistment of some of the men now discharged, in the event that evidence is adduced tending to exculpate them entirely both from participation in the crime and assistance in the conspiracy of silence to prevent the detection of the offenders. He dismisses as unworthy of consideration the idea that the policy in ordering this discharge has been in any way affected by the race question. Secretary Taft's statement of

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the reasons governing the action of the Administration seems to The Outlook to be founded on sound principles of justice and public policy. Resolutions have been passed by the United States Senate calling upon the President for all the facts and documents in the case for its consideration.

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Secretary Shaw and the Currency

The report on the condition of the Treasury Department by Secretary Shaw ought to interest the general public much more than such documents usually do. Treasury reports are usually addressed in banker's language to the banking and financial experts of the country. The present report, however, deals with the pressing question of currency reform, which, as The Outlook said two weeks ago, is of vital interest to every citizen. Mr. Shaw points out the evils of an inelastic bank currency, which leads to stock speculation and visionary promotion in the summer and a painful stringency in the autumn and winter, the periods of crop-moving and commercial activity. Mr. Shaw's opinion that these conditions are due in a large measure to the lack of co operation among the National banks is significant because it comes from a former National bank president. He apparently indorses the allegation, often made by large borrowers of money, that the great and powerful National banks of the country prefer to have the regulation of currency circulation left as far as possible in their own hands rather than to have enforced co-operation among the six thousand National banks in the country. As to the need for elasticity, the Secretary says: "Every other instrument of business, from grain-sack to merchant ship, responds in some measure, at least, to the actual needs of commerce, while the money of the United States remains at a fixed quantity." Of course when Mr. Shaw says money he means currency. This confusion of terms only illustrates to what an extent fundamental principles of commerce and banking are clouded and confused by technical language and inaccurate definition. Mr. Shaw appears to approve, not however with enthusiasm, the plan of an additional National bank note circulation based on credit or assets and secured by a tax. He does not believe in the recommendation of the Joint Currency Committee to remove the limitation of $3,000,000 per month now placed by law upon the retirement of National bank note circulation. He condemns the idea of a Central or United States bank corresponding to the banks of England and France. The ground of his objection is that "such a bank would of necessity be governed by a board the members of which would doubtless have outside interests. . . . It is doubtful whether such an institution could be managed less selfishly and more in the interest of the people generally than the Treasury Department has been conducted even under the most unfortunate management to which it has ever been subjected." In this we are inclined to agree with the Secretary. We cannot, however, agree with the recommendation of chief importance which he makes for remedying the universally acknowledged defects of the National bank currency. His remedy is, briefly, to make the Secretary of the Treasury expressly by law the autocrat of circulation. "If the Secretary of the Treasury were given $100,000,000 to be deposited with the banks or withdrawn as he might deem expedient, and if in addition he were clothed with authority over the reserves of the several banks with power to contract National bank circulation at pleasure, in my judgment no panic as distinguished from industrial stagnation could threaten either the United States or Europe that he could not avert." There is not the slightest likelihood that the American people will ever clothe any one man, no matter how great and good, with the power to decide paternally when they really need money and when they do not, how much they ought to have when any is given to them, and what amount to take away when it appears to him that they have too much. In these days of a well-nigh universal democratic movement in industry, that a Secretary of the Treasury can soberly make such a proposal will greatly weaken the force of his authority as a National financier.

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The President and the Nations

In the comments of the foreign press on the President's Message one would naturally expect to find greatest attention paid to its treatment of international relations. If cable despatches are trustworthy, this is generally true of Continental Europe and Japan, and not true of Great Britain. The French, Italian, and Japanese papers generally commend the President for his courage in asserting his convictions on the Japanese question and for his adherence to that peace, and only that peace, which is based on righteousness. The London press, on the other hand, seems to be especially interested in the President's attitude toward the situation within the United States. Thus the Standard, Conservative in politics, discusses the contest between Federal and State powers, and goes so far as to say that although the American people have outgrown the Constitution, their innate conservatism binds them close to it. It is this situation, according to the Standard, which makes Mr. Roosevelt's really moderate proposals seem revolutionary. The Daily News, a Radical journal, makes these striking comments:

> In all Aryan nations industrial revolution is heaping up wealth into great accumulations. Capital and labor are organizing into hostile corporations. . . . Wide discontent tortures the obscure millions at the basis of society. America here confronts the same menace as Europe. The President appears to-day as wrestling with forces which he can comprehend but cannot control. Mr. Roosevelt diagnoses the situation with a most startling clearness.

The News adds that the seeking for a cure for this state of affairs is to characterize the politics of the world in this century. The Telegraph, even in speaking of the Japanese question, notes its bearing upon the relation between the Federal Government and the State. The Daily Express interprets the Message as an indication that in America, as in England, the struggle is between Nationalism and anti-Nationalism, and between the State and Socialism. And perhaps most significant of all is the unqualified approval of the London Times, once the most powerful and cynical journalistic critic of American institutions and manners in the world, and still regarded throughout Europe as the greatest exponent of English conservatism. "The Message," says the Times, "ranges over many subjects, but all are treated with equal sanity and judgment, the same robust common sense and the same hold upon facts and disregard of the conventions, while through every paragraph breathes an unmistakable moral sincerity and passion for righteousness." These comments themselves show why the British press is interested in Mr. Roosevelt's treatment of domestic problems; it is because fundamentally they are also the problems of Great Britain; they are the problems arising from a great economic development, vast problems of social readjustment. These echoes of British public opinion illustrate the fact that the people of the United Kingdom and the people of the United States are interested in one another, not merely because they have mutual relations as nations, but more because as plain men and women they have common experiences with which national boundaries have little to do. And what is true of Great Britain and America is becoming increasingly true of all countries. International problems are being supplanted by world problems, and international amity is being reinforced by simple human brotherhood.

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The Japanese in America

That part of the President's Message which relates to the treatment of Japanese in this country has been received in Japan with the strongest approval, and will go far to strengthen the already friendly international relations of the two countries. No subject of the Emperor of Japan could possibly read the hearty praise of Japan's marvelously rapid transition in the last half-century from the civilization of the Middle Ages into that of a nation of the first rank in art, industry, science, and prowess by sea and on land, without feeling that President Roosevelt spoke with sincerity and cordiality. The specific recommendation that the privilege of naturalization be offered by Congress to Japanese intending to become American

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citizens; the request that the President receive ampler powers to enforce the rights of aliens under treaty; the assurance that existing powers will be so employed, including, if necessary, the military and civil forces which may be lawfully used (the last has been absurdly tortured by some sensationalists, without regard to its context, into a threat to coerce State authorities acting within their Constitutional rights); and the declaration that the Japanese have "won on their own merits and by their own exertions the right to treatment on a basis of full and frank equality"—all these positive and obviously spontaneous expressions of good will are naturally grateful to the pride of Japan, and assure that nation that our Government will uphold the rights of the Japanese in America, will punish acts of violence or wrong-doing toward them so far as possible, and will deal justly with individual questions concerning them as such questions arise.

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The School Question

In California the adverse comment varied from the excited utterances of those who profess to believe that a Japanese exclusion act can be passed without reference to treaty rights or Japan's wishes, down to the mild criticism of those who think that the recent excitement about the school-segregation of Japanese was exaggerated, but hold—and it seems to us with considerable reason—that the President was ill advised in speaking of that segregation as a "shutting out from the public schools" and a "wicked absurdity." Whether it is so or not is precisely the question at issue, and will be decided by the courts. That Japanese children should be given full and equal educational privileges with, say, German children, is indisputable, but it is also true that the school authorities of San Francisco must have the power to arrange hours, courses, places of schooling, and other details in such a way as to conduce to the best educational results for the entire city. Was the segregation of Japanese and Chinese children for this purpose, or was it merely a sign of racial contempt? The question is at least open to argument. As The Outlook said some weeks ago: "If this measure was taken for general convenience and to secure greater educational efficiency, it could not properly be made the subject of criticism or the occasion of international irritation. If, on the other hand, it is an expression of anti-racial feeling and the initial step in an agitation against the Japanese, it is not only to be deprecated as entirely out of harmony with the American spirit, but as a very serious menace to American prosperity." If the courts shall hold that segregation is contrary to those equal rights of residence guaranteed by treaty to the Japanese, we do not doubt that the State of California and the city of San Francisco will conform to the judicial decision. Meanwhile the educational authorities have it entirely in their own undoubted power to obviate such an undesirable state of things as that young men of whatever nationality should be put in the same classes as children, or that children (whether Japanese, Poles, or Russian Jews) who cannot speak English should receive the same instruction as those who can.

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Shall Japanese Be Excluded

Distinct from the school matter is the large and growingly important question of Japanese immigration to the Pacific Coast. Right or wrong, there is now a strong sentiment in opposition among the labor unions and elsewhere. Accordingly, the appearance in the press of a statement that the United States and Japan were, through their diplomatists, negotiating a new treaty in which there should be mutual restrictions as to certain classes of immigrants into the two countries (it was explained that Japan was anxious to divert immigration from America into Korea and Manchuria) was received with pleasure by those who disapproved of the President's recommendation as to naturalization. But their satisfaction was short-lived, for it was at once announced officially that there had been no overtures whatever from either country for such an agreement. That there will be any strong movement in Congress for an act exclud-

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ing Japanese from this country without the treaty consent of Japan seems all but incredible. With all respect to the arguments adduced by those who fear an Oriental wave of cheap workers unlike ourselves in race, temperament, and ideals, we have yet to be convinced that a remodeled restriction law, excluding those aliens found not desirable under tests of intelligence, thrift, capability, and character, would not protect American civilization sufficiently without resort to the no-principle of race-rejection.

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The Case of Mrs. Bellamy Storer

The newspapers of the week are full of what will perhaps be known in American political history as the Bellamy Storer incident. It is really not more than an incident. But since Mr. Storer and some newspapers are trying to magnify it into a national, not to say international, event, the readers of The Outlook ought to know the main facts involved. Mr. and Mrs. Storer were formerly intimate personal friends of Mr. Roosevelt—a friendship originating in the days when Mr. Roosevelt was a Civil Service Commissioner and Mr. Storer a Congressman in Washington. Mr. Storer was appointed under President McKinley Minister to Belgium and afterwards to Spain. He finally became Ambassador to Austria, and from this post of distinguished honor was summarily removed in March last. He has now made a long statement of protest against his removal in the form of a pamphlet of which he has sent a copy to the President and to each member of his Cabinet. This statement contains not only official correspondence but private and personal letters of Mr. Roosevelt's, and memoranda of private conversations at the White House. Many of these letters and at least one of the conversations were exchanged with Mrs. Storer. How any man of Mr. Storer's position can wish to bring his wife into such a public discussion we cannot understand; but since he has done so, the public are quite justified in forming and expressing their opinion of Mrs. Storer's part in a controversy so unfortunate for her. Having been brought up a Protestant, Mrs. Storer, who now is connected with the President by marriage, became, at some date not stated in the correspondence, a Roman Catholic. She seems to have been carried away by an overwhelming political ambition for her husband and the perfervid zeal of a new convert for her Church. Eight days after the death of President McKinley Mrs. Storer was urging the President to appoint Mr. Storer to the Cabinet, either as Secretary of the Navy or as Secretary of War in place of Mr. Root. During the Austrian Ambassadorship Mrs. Storer was exceedingly active, apparently pulling every political and social wire which she could lay hold of, in support of a plan to have Archbishop Ireland appointed a Cardinal. There is no evidence or intimation of evidence that Archbishop Ireland was personally connected with this plan, but Mrs. Storer in her zeal involved the Government and her husband in several embarrassing situations, as is conclusively shown by Mr. Storer's own statement. The situation became so complicated and strained that the President was finally compelled to instruct Mr. Storer that he must in turn instruct his wife to cease using the embassy at Vienna as a means of accomplishing her own personal ambitions. With what some people may call commendable gallantry, but with what was certainly a great lack of loyalty to his Government, Mr. Storer did not carry out these instructions, and refused or neglected to answer letters and a cablegram of the President on the subject. He was thereupon summarily removed. The evidence in Mr. Storer's own statement is sufficient, without the convincing reply of the President made in an officially published letter to Mr. Root, to justify his removal as being necessary for the good of the country and the diplomatic service. As has too often happened in the history of American diplomacy, the personal ambition and misdirected zeal of a wife have brought the promising political career of her husband to a sudden end. We do not believe that Mr. Storer, in making public this record, was well advised as to his own interests, or consulted those who

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know how the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in America should best be maintained.

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The Des Moines Conference

The Conference held at Des Moines, Iowa, last week, to promote the movement for the direct election of United States Senators, was attended by thirty-three delegates, representing twelve States. The Conference was called by Governor Cummins, under direction of a resolution of the Iowa Legislature. The men gathered at Des Moines apparently despaired of ever getting the action they wanted through the Federal Senate, or else they thought an indirect attack the best means of forcing the Senate. The resolutions adopted declare "that, while this Convention would much prefer that Congress should submit to the several States a proposed amendment to the Constitution for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people, so that the States might pass upon it as a single question, yet, inasmuch as the Senate persistently refuses to submit such amendment, it therefore earnestly recommends that the Legislatures of the several States do, in pursuance of Article 4 of the Constitution of the United States, make application to Congress to call a Convention for the purpose of proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States." An executive committee, of which Mr. Thomas A. Cheshire, of Des Moines, is chairman, was directed to carry on the campaign to induce the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States to demand the calling of a Constitutional Convention. If any large degree of success attends this movement, it is not at all unlikely that the Senate, before two-thirds of the State Legislatures shall have acted, will yield to popular sentiment and vote to submit the desired amendment. The National House of Representatives, on five different occasions between 1893 and 1902, passed, by much more than the requisite two-thirds vote, resolutions for the submission to the States of Constitutional amendments for the direct election of Senators. But the Senate has always declined to take action, and thus has blocked the movement. That popular sentiment is strongly in favor of the change is indicated by referendum votes that have been taken in three different States. A vote in California in 1892 gave 187,958 for the proposition of popular election, and 13,342 against. A similar vote in Nevada in 1893 resulted in 6,775 for to 866 against. The result of a referendum on the question in Illinois in 1902 was 451,319 for and 76,975 against. These figures indicate a strength of popular sentiment in favor of direct election of Senators that must prove triumphant sooner or later. The Des Moines Conference, though unpretentious in numbers, may yet be the means for bringing the Senate to submit the proposed amendment to the States for ratification.

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A Champion of Pittsburg

In its issue of November 24, in an editorial paragraph on the journalistic methods of Mr. Hearst, The Outlook said that Mr. Hearst's newspaper "product is a most flagrant illustration of the definition of journalism once made by a well-known Pittsburg newspaper publisher. A daily newspaper office, said this publisher, is merely a factory in which white paper, ink, and brains are transmuted into a product that sells at a large profit, and the manufacturer has no other obligation than to make the largest possible product and the largest possible dividends consistent with keeping out of the clutches of the law." Whereupon the editor of the Pittsburg Gazette Times, unnecessarily assuming that this was intended as "a fling at Pittsburg," wrote a personal letter of protest and demanded the name of the Pittsburg publisher who had from The Outlook's point of view so cleverly, although cynically, defined the commercial theory of journalism. The Outlook replied that there was no intention of reflecting upon Pittsburg or Pittsburg journalism. As a matter of fact, it was the cleverness of the definition, not its source, that attracted the attention of The Outlook, and it was quoted with all the deference that might be shown to a similar piece of cynical wit on the part of Dean Swift or Sir Richard Steele.

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But the editor of the Pittsburg Gazette Times still refuses to look upon The Outlook's quotation as a literary allusion, and insists, in a column editorial in the issue of his paper for December 4, that The Outlook has offered "an unwarranted insult to Pittsburg." He is of the opinion that The Outlook is "getting as yellow in its ethics as it is in its treatment of subjects which come within its range of discussion and exploitation." He admits, however, that it is difficult to fathom a motive for the systematic conspiracy existing throughout the Eastern States to undermine the reputation of Pittsburg—a conspiracy in which The Outlook appears to him to be an active partner. "Possibly it springs," he says, "from that feeling of envy which is common to all, in this case envy of the fact that nowhere on the globe is there a given region of such abounding material prosperity as Greater Pittsburg. It is the wonder of the world; history has nothing to surpass it, and our own day nothing to match it." In the light of this glowing rhetoric, which could hardly be improved upon by the immortal Jefferson Brick himself, The Outlook stands unmasked. It will endeavor no longer to envy Pittsburg, and will try to divert its attention from that city's municipal, social, and commercial splendors to the more modest achievements of Paris, London, Berlin, Florence, Venice, Rome, and Athens. We take off our hat to the Gazette Times, the undaunted champion of the great journalism of Greater Pittsburg.

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An Exhibition of Automobiles

The Seventh Exhibit of the Automobile Club of America was held in New York during last week. This exhibition includes only about half of the automobile manufacturers and importers in the country, for the American automobile world is divided into two camps. The exhibition of the other group, which includes only those makers who are authorized to use a certain fundamental patent, with some allied foreign firms, will be held in January. The show last week was crowded every day and evening, and the interest displayed by the visitors, combined with the remarkably high quality of the exhibits, forms a good index of the increasing popularity and use of the motor-car. If this particular display of motor-cars were the only evidence of the growth of this industry, it might be said that motoring is becoming more and more not only the sport but the convenience of the rich man. Expensive cars were enormously in the majority; cars were larger, more powerful, and especially more luxurious than ever before. The huge cars built to carry cozily six passengers besides the chauffeur, with landaulet or limousine bodies, fitted with every convenience for carrying luggage and securing comfort while touring in all kinds of weather, are comparable only to the private car of the railway president; there were nearly a score of such cars represented. It must be remembered, however, that this New York exhibition does not tell the whole truth. In the West there are hundreds of "coal-box" buggies of the ordinary wooden-wheel construction but with a simple gas engine attachment which are successfully used by farmers and others over the common country roads. The man of moderate income can have his choice of a number of admirable cars, simply and honestly built, easy to run and to take care of. Indeed, two cars in this show which attracted rather more than their natural share of attention were low-priced runabouts. A section of the exhibition which was of the greatest interest to every true friend of the horse and every student of the problems of transportation of freight in the city and farm produce in the country, was devoted to electric and gasoline trucks and delivery wagons. The progress in this direction is slow but steady; what seems to be especially needed is education of the users of heavy wagons.

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Automobile Regulation

The number of persons using automobiles in the United States has enormously increased in the past few years, and has now reached, according to a trustworthy estimate, a total of seventy-five thousand. The increasing use of

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the automobile has presented a new and difficult problem to the lawmakers in the regulation of the movements of motor-cars on the highways. Solutions of the problem have been tried in each State, no two of the solutions agreeing in every particular. In the regulation of the speed of automobiles it seems to The Outlook that almost universally a wrong principle has been adopted; a maximum rate of speed for country roads and town and city streets has been set, with penalties for exceeding it. Such regulation has two disadvantages. First, the speed at which an automobile is moving can be accurately determined only by an expert with a stop-watch while the car is passing over a measured course. Second, such a speed limit is constantly exceeded without protest from the authorities, and seems to be impossible of anything like universal enforcement. It is probably fair to say that the large majority of automobiles in New York City, except when running on crowded streets, go faster than eight miles an hour, the legal rate. A law which is not, and by the very nature of the case cannot, be universally enforced is a bad law. In The Outlook's opinion, the prohibition should be directed not against certain rates of speed, but against reckless driving; what constitutes reckless driving should be determined by the judge from the circumstances in each case. The penalties, too, which are inflicted are usually inadequate. Fines are ineffective, while imprisonment sometimes falls upon the wrong person; it cannot always be determined whether the chauffeur or the owner is really responsible for the reckless driving. The impounding of the automobile for three or six months as a penalty for a second offense would make both owner and driver more careful. The former would lose his car, the latter his place.

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Pius X. and France

Pius X. is a sincere and fervent Christian, but it is unfortunate that to his deeply religious nature he does not bring some of his predecessor's statecraft. Sunday of this week brought additional evidence of the Pope's uncompromising attitude. He rejected the French Government's final offer of a means by which Roman Catholic worship might be continued under the common law. Under the new law, passed last year, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and other religionists are compelled to register themselves as *associations cultuelles*, or associations for worship. All but the Roman Catholics have complied with the Government provisions, which in many respects are like those obtaining in this country in trusteeships for the various churches. Because of canonical objections the Pope declined to permit the French Roman Catholics to register under the new law. The Government thereupon pointed out that these could not be invoked against an earlier law requiring Government sanction to associations; and offered to accept a simple declaration in accordance with that law. So reasonable had the situation now become that such progressive prelates as Cardinal Lecot and Archbishop Germain had advised compliance, so it was reported. This solution of the problem has been made impossible by the Pope's pronouncement prohibiting declarations under the earlier law and directing parish priests to remain in their churches until driven out by violence. The publication of this pronouncement created a sensation in Government and in Catholic circles, and the prelates in question hastily instructed the parish priests in their dioceses that their advice previously given was void. M. Briand, Minister of Public Worship, and framer of the new law, is reported as saying: "The Pope now assumes political leadership, and the vital question is whether the Catholics of France will consent to follow him or not. If they do, the Government will act with even greater energy because of the tolerance heretofore manifested. Every violation of the law will be prosecuted, and, furthermore, special measures, legislative and otherwise, may be taken." The special measures referred to are the divesting of the clergy of their privileges, the compulsion to perform military service, and, as a last resort, treatment as foreign subjects. Thus the grave crisis which until this

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week seemed about to be averted has become acute again. All well-wishers of France and all friends of the interests of the Church will hope that even now some method may be found of reconciling the apparently irreconcilable.

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Shakespeare and Self-Advertisers

Shakespeare has fallen upon parlous times. Last week The Outlook reported the discovery by a German scholar that the plays which, since the publication of the early quartos at the close of the sixteenth century, have been attributed to William Shakespeare of Stratford, were written by the Earl of Rutland; and now comes Mr. Hall Caine and declares with great solemnity that it does not make much difference who wrote the plays, for only about six of them are worth reading, and he leads his readers to infer that there is much more profit in contemporary writing. Modesty probably forbids him to specify fiction. Mr. George Bernard Shaw, who, with Mr. Thomas Lawson, divides the primacy among the self-advertisers, has for a number of years spoken very slightingly of Shakespeare's work, and has more than once intimated that much greater work has been done under his own name. But Mr. Shaw has lately been diverted from the congenial task of demolishing Shakespeare to the still more congenial task of pulling down the Bible. He takes a very low view of the Bible both as literature and as revelation, and is distinctly of opinion that the time has come to put it aside and substitute other and more important works in its place. Among those works he would probably like to suggest "Candida," "Man and Superman," and "Cæsar and Cleopatra." If Mr. Hall Caine's attention can be diverted by his anti-Shakespeare zeal, there is good hope that the Bible may last a few years longer; but if both modest gentlemen should combine forces and bring the battery of their powerful intelligence simultaneously to bear on the Bible, the consequences are dreadful to contemplate. Nothing seems to be certain in this day except that Mr. Caine and Mr. Shaw will never lose any possible occasion of obtruding themselves on public attention.

A Modern Dramatic Oratorio: The Legend

Before an audience that ought to have been larger and more enthusiastic, the Oratorio Society of New York last week in Carnegie Hall gave Gabriel Pierné's "musical legend," as he calls it, "The Children's Crusade." Like Elgar's big choral works, this shows that, as a form of music, the oratorio is not dead but transformed. Recitatives, arias, duets, and other set pieces have disappeared. As we have as successor to the traditional opera a "music drama," so we have as successor to the traditional oratorio a dramatic choral work. The incident on which this "musical legend" is based is the children's crusade of the thirteenth century, when the children themselves forsook parents and guardians, flocked to the shores of the Mediterranean, and embarked to conquer the Holy Land. It is strange that this remarkable episode in history, glowing with religious fervor and full of dramatic material, should not have sooner attracted poets, dramatists, and composers. Taking the poem of Marcel Schwob as a basis, Gabriel Pierné, one of the most prolific of modern French composers, has written a work which has attained sudden and unprecedented popularity. It cannot be said that France has been slow to recognize the gifts of one of its own sons, for, beginning in 1874, he carried off several of the highest prizes of the Paris Conservatory, culminating with the grand prize of Rome in 1882. Not every winner of the coveted Roman prize has justified early expectations and won triumphs of public fame; but Pierné, who was a youthful musical prodigy, has also the quality of painstaking, persistent industry, which has enabled him to acquire a complete mastery of the technique of his art, and thus to give great freedom to his inspirations.

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A Modern Dramatic Oratorio: The Music

Up to the first rendering of his work in Paris, in January, 1905, Pierné's name was mainly local. Paris was easily kindled with the work, and it was given in that city four times—thrice under the direction of Edward Co-

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lonne and once under the direction of the composer. Then the enthusiasm swept over the Rhine, and after the first performance at Augsburg, in April of the present year, the German press spoke of it with generous praise as a new event in oratorio music. Since then Pierné's fame has rapidly become international. This work has been given five times in Amsterdam, and is there to be given again twice during the present season; it has been given twice in Rotterdam, and once each in Brunswick, Brussels, and Munich. In over thirty other cities it has been or soon will be performed. Pierné's music may or may not stand the test of posterity, but he will have the rarer privilege—denied to many composers—of getting the simultaneous verdict of the great musical centers of his own day. In spite of the fact that he spent two years in composing his "Children's Crusade," it has all the freshness, ardor, and abandon which the very nature of the theme exacts. Pierné has caught the spirit of that phase of mediæval religion which in literature has been perpetuated in the hymns of St. Bernard of Clairvaux—the mystical personal devotion to Jesus. To the naïve voices of children he gives quaint snatches of song of appealing simplicity, and about them weaves stirring and expressive harmonies. With a chorus singing the wails of the beseeching parents, the lusty songs of the sailors, and the praises of the angelic host welcoming the souls of the drowned children, with solo voices representing the child leaders, the narrator, and other figures in the drama, and with a modern orchestra facile and powerful in emotional expression, Pierné has succeeded in producing dramatic and musical effects of great impressiveness. Pierné is a master of his medium. Although not an extremist of the modern French school, of which d'Indy is the leader, he has profited by its achievements. He uses tonality as an impressionist painter uses color. His contrapuntal writing, like that of other modern composers, reminds one that Bach at last has come to his own. The most amazing feature of the performance in New York was the ease with which the two hundred school-children sang their difficult parts. A special word of appreciation ought to be expressed for the great service which Mr. Frank Damrosch, under whose direction this work was produced, is rendering to New York, and through New York to the Nation. He has been both bold and judicious in introducing new works. He made the musical public of New York acquainted with the choral works of Elgar; he has revived, by means of the Musical Art Society, ancient choral works whose beauty, but for him, would be practically unheard in the metropolis; and by means of the Young People's Symphony Concerts he is introducing many people, young and old, to the world of music under the happiest of auspices. This brief statement does not at all exhaust the list of his services; and he continues to render them in spite of the fact that they do not always receive a deserved response. If Americans are growing in musical understanding and taste, they owe it to such wise, patient, and spirited leaders as he.

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A Night of Heroism

The burning of the Chi Psi Fraternity house at Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, on Friday of last week involved the loss of seven lives and the destruction of two hundred thousand dollars' worth of property and one of the finest fraternity houses in the country. Of the men who were killed, four were students at the University and three were firemen. The incident of the fire may be forgotten, but the story of the heroism of the young men, of whom there were twenty-seven in the house, and of the firemen who endeavored to rescue them, will enrich the annals of Cornell University for all time. The students living in the house awoke to find themselves encircled by flame, but each man seems to have thought first of his roommate. One, Oliver Schmuck, rushed back into a raging furnace after he had once reached safety and endeavored to rescue his roommate. Mr. Schmuck was brought out alive, but died soon after. Students from the other fraternity houses came at once to the rescue, penetrated the building with utter disregard of their own safety, and did everything within

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their power to rescue those who were in peril. In a country in which so many evil deeds attain such evil prominence every act of heroism is precious. Such acts are innumerable, but they are rarely reported. An undergraduate disturbance at Cornell would have been telegraphed to all parts of the country and sarcastically commented upon in a great many editorial paragraphs. Should not a night of heroism receive the same attention and command the same space?

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Liquor Legislation in Missouri

Governor Folk's policy of strict enforcement of the law has become a dominant issue in Missouri politics. In the recent legislative elections in that State the brewers of St. Louis and Kansas City co-operated with the large corporate interests in a determined effort to elect Senators and Representatives hostile to the Governor, whose term of office continues for two more years. Their hostility to Mr. Folk was based on his strict enforcement of the Sunday closing law in the larger cities of the State and on his destruction of the corrupt corporation lobby that for years had controlled State legislation. Happily, the large amount of independent and intelligent voting defeated their plans, and the Legislature that will assemble in January will be under the control of the Governor's friends. Mr. Folk has already announced an aggressive policy in dealing with the liquor question. The State now has county option. The Governor will ask the Legislature to extend this to city wards so that residence districts in cities may have the opportunity to exclude saloons by majority vote. In several counties he has found the county authorities unwilling to enforce the laws against saloons and gambling-places. He will ask the Legislature for authority to appoint special prosecutors and to suspend prosecuting attorneys who flagrantly neglect their duty. The centralization of the liquor power through brewery ownership of large numbers of saloons has proved especially dangerous in Missouri; therefore he will ask the Legislature to prohibit the licensing of saloons owned by breweries.

Stop Arming the Enemy

The space and the prominent position in his Message which the President gives to the subject of legal proceedings, especially in criminal cases, have ample justification. Popular protest against those judicial methods which hamper society in its efforts to restrain criminals ought to be heeded. If it is not heeded, this protest, muttered in criticism of certain features of American courts, will develop into a distrust of the courts themselves; and nothing could be more menacing to American democracy than that. So far, as a whole, State and Federal courts have had the confidence of the American people, and have therefore been a force for stability in the midst of the most sweeping political changes. If they lose this confidence, they will lose what has been their bone and sinew. The President has therefore done a great service in voicing this protest and, with the wisdom of a practical public man, in proposing remedies.

In reverse order in which they appear in the Message the two remedies are: first, the disregard of errors affecting only the technical rights of a defendant; and, second, the grant to the Government of the right to appeal criminal cases on questions of law.

At present a criminal, no matter how clearly guilty he is proved to be, can take advantage of every error which the trial judge, called upon to rule at a moment's notice, may make. If the culprit's lawyers can show that by this error his technical rights were invaded, even though the real question of his guilt was not affected, he is entitled at least to a new trial, and may go scot free. Because they have felt compelled to allow defendants this privilege, courts have more than once liberated prisoners of whose guilt they had not the slightest doubt. More than that; because prosecuting officers have known of the strength of this privilege, they have on occasions decided that it was inexpedient to prosecute. The criminals who have escaped punishment through technicalities are not to be numbered merely by the statistics of cases reversed or dismissed; they cannot be estimated, for

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no one knows how many, by virtue of this privilege, have wholly escaped trial.

It is not enough to require, as in Ohio, that an "error to be ground of reversal must be prejudicial to the rights of the party complaining," or, as it has been phrased in Massachusetts, "prejudicial to the legal rights of the defendant," for such rights may be merely technical rights not in any way affecting the merits of the verdict. The only remedy for this aspect of the evil is the adoption of a provision like that drafted by Judge Amidon, of South Dakota, at the request of the Minnesota Bar Association, and embodied substantially in President Roosevelt's Message in the following words:

> No judgment shall be set aside or new trial granted in any cause, civil or criminal, on the ground of misdirection of the jury or the improper admission or rejection of evidence, or for error as to any matter of pleading or procedure, unless, in the opinion of the court to which the application is made, after an examination of the entire cause, it shall affirmatively appear that the error complained of has resulted in a miscarriage of justice.

Whether it would be still more effective to provide that no judgment be set aside or new trial granted unless it shall affirmatively appear that if the error complained of had not been committed the verdict would have been different, we leave for experts in legal phraseology to decide. That, at any rate, ought to be the purport of such a provision. The presumption that a defendant is innocent should be changed to a presumption of guilt as soon as he is convicted. Let him thereafter bear the burden of proving that the error or errors of which he complains prevented his acquittal.

Not only, however, has an accused person, under the present conditions, the right to appeal on mere technicalities, but the people, in prosecuting a wrong-doer, are denied an appeal on questions of law to a higher court. In other words, a criminal can take advantage of merely technical errors, while the people, against whom he has offended, have no redress for substantial errors. The President refers to a specific case, in which a decision by a District Judge left railway employees "without remedy for violation of a certain so-called labor statute." As the President says, it does not seem reasonable "to permit a single District Judge, against what may be the judgment of the immense majority of his colleagues on the bench, to declare a law solemnly enacted by the Congress to be 'unconstitutional,' and then to deny to the Government the right to have the Supreme Court definitely decide the question." The President urges, therefore, the enactment of the bill "conferring upon the Government the right of appeal in criminal cases on questions of law." He notes the fact that this bill has already passed one House of Congress, and that it embodies a principle recognized in many of the States and by Federal law in the District of Columbia. The bill ought to be passed. It will give the people a power for self-defense which they ought to possess.

Many other remedies have been proposed for the unjust advantage which the criminal now has in the courts of justice. Some of them are designed to expedite the processes of criminal trials. Thus it has been suggested: that the common law system of criminal proceedings be revised; that unless the court certifies that there is reasonable doubt whether the conviction was not erroneous, sentences, in spite of exceptions or appeals, be imposed and carried out immediately after the verdict; that appeals to Federal courts be limited to those cases in which a Justice of the United States Supreme Court certifies that the appeal involves a substantial question under the Federal Constitution; that appealed cases be given precedence on the calendar. Of these remedies some have been tried—it is declared, with success. Other proposals deal with more particular aspects of criminal proceedings. Thus it has been suggested: that the spirit of lynching be robbed of even its appearance of excuse by the adoption of especially speedy and private proceedings in cases of rape (the President in advocating this recommends that the punishment for this crime or for assault with the intent to commit it be made capital); that the Constitutional rule

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regarding jeopardy be made more flexible, so that guilty persons be no longer allowed to escape because they were in a purely technical sense twice in jeopardy of life or limb; that some modification of the general rule concerning incriminating testimony be made so that co-conspirators and bribers may not altogether escape. The fact that most of these suggestions have come to The Outlook from very conservative sources indicates how widespread is the demand for an improvement in both Federal and State criminal procedure, and how well justified is the popular impatience with the obstructions which justice now has to meet. An improvement in many particulars is needed; but the two remedies emphasized by the President—one limiting the generous privileges of appeal which convicted criminals now enjoy, the other extending the meager privileges of appeal for the Government—are especially urgent. If they could be adopted as law, and administered by judges in sympathy with their purpose, the innocent accused would still have abundant safeguards, while the murderer fighting desperately for his life, or the rich oppressor eager to save his reputation as well as his possessions, would be deprived of some of the weapons which the people now put into his hands for use against themselves.

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Have We Souls?

Is the brain an instrument which thought uses, or is it a cause which produces thought? The materialist insists that the brain produces thought as the liver secretes bile. The spiritualist replies, This cannot be; I am conscious that I am something else than the mechanism that I control. The materialist replies, This consciousness is also a product of the brain. In this perpetually recurring debate neither debater produces any effect upon the other. For one starts from the study of the mechanism and the other from the study of personal consciousness. They reach no conclusion, for they assume different premises. And yet this is not only the most fundamental, it is also the most vital, question in philosophy. Upon it depends the question of human responsibility. If the brain is like an electrical machine and thought is like the electricity which it produces, there is no responsibility. There could then be no more a wicked man than there could be a wicked electrical machine. Nor could there be life after death. When the wood in the fireplace is consumed, the fire goes out and nothing is left but ashes. If the brain is fuel and thought is flame, there is nothing left to live after the brain is committed to the dust.

Dr. William Hanna Thomson has recently published a volume[1] which, approaching this question in a wholly scientific spirit, appears to us to furnish what is almost, if not quite, a scientific demonstration that the mind is the agent and the brain is the instrument. The value of such a volume largely depends on the character of the writer. Dr. Thomson is a nerve specialist of recognized authority. He has for years studied man as a machine, his business being to ascertain why the machine is out of order and how it can be repaired. His book treats the subject in a purely scientific manner, but it is written in a peculiarly lucid style, and can be easily understood without expert knowledge by the thoughtful layman.

He states the issue very clearly. An Æolian harp and a violin are constructed on substantially the same principles. Put an Æolian harp in the window; the wind blows against its strings and produces music. The music depends wholly on the nature of the Æolian harp and on the character of the window and the wind. Put the violin in the hands of an artist. The music depends partly on the character of the violin, but chiefly on the character of the artist who plays upon it. Which is the brain—an Æolian harp or a violin? Does mental and emotional action depend wholly upon the brain and its external environment, or is there an invisible artist who plays upon the brain and educes the music from it? This is the question.

If you put two Æolian harps of exactly

[1] *Brain and Personality, or the Physical Relations of the Brain to the Mind.* By William Hanna Thomson, M.D., LL.D. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

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the same construction in windows exactly alike, and the same wind blows upon them both, substantially the same music will be produced. If you put two brains of the same size and the same quality in as nearly as possible the same environment, the results are not the same; they are not even similar. Neither in structure, nor, so far as the microscope can discover, in quality, does the brain of a chimpanzee differ from the human brain. It was Huxley who demonstrated that the brain of man does not possess a lobe or lobule or convolution which is not likewise to be found in its corresponding place in the brain of an anthropoid ape; but the mental action of the two is absolutely different. It is true that we cannot penetrate to the consciousness of a chimpanzee, but we know that the one produces speech and the other does not. From the one there come expressions of intellectual life, from the other no expressions. If the violin is absolutely silent in the hands of one person and vocal with exquisite music in the hands of another, we have the right to conclude that one is not a musician and the other is. The fact that the chimpanzee is silent and the man with apparently the same brain is vocal, indicates that the brain is not the cause of thought, but its instrument. Like causes produce like effects, and like effects are not produced by the like brains of the man and the chimpanzee.

The brain of man is a composite and complicated structure. Different parts of the brain fulfill different functions in life. One part of the brain, connected with the eye, is the seat and instrument of sight; another part of the brain is the instrument of hearing. The brain sight organ, again, is divided into different instruments. One part of this instrument is used for seeing words. If that part is injured, the individual can still see everything else, but he cannot read. He is affected not with blindness but with word-blindness, and becomes wholly an illiterate while yet in possession of all his faculties. Such a one can still hear words and speak words and understand words, but he cannot read words. Nay, more than that. He may be able to read the words of one language and not those of another. The brain is likened by Dr. Thomson to the sheets in a phonograph. If one sheet is destroyed, the phonograph will no longer repeat what has been written upon that sheet, but it will still continue to repeat all that is upon other sheets. Dr. Thomson gives the incident of a highly educated man who, because of an injury to the brain, was unable to read his native English, but when tested could read Greek perfectly and Latin and French tolerably.

Thus the brain is like a church organ which is divided into a choir organ, a swell organ, and a great organ, each organ responsive to a certain number of stops, as the trumpet, the diapason, or the flute, and, in each organ and under each stop, each note responsive to a particular key. Break the connection between the wind-chest and the swell organ, and nothing in the swell organ will sound. Break the connection between the diapason stop and the interior mechanism, and nothing in the diapason will sound. Break the connection of a single key, and nothing will sound in response to that key. The organist is uninjured, but the organ fails to reply to his touch. The organ as a whole may be uninjured, and yet a specific note in the organ refuse to respond to his touch. So, as the nerve specialists have learned from abundant examples, the intellectual life may be apparently wholly unimpaired, and yet, through some break in the mechanism of the brain, the mind may be unable to act in one department, while all its powers to act in other departments are unaffected.

What is still more curious, more interesting, and to us more conclusive, is the fact that the portion of the brain which is used for expression through speech, or for reception through eye or ear, may be wholly destroyed, and yet the mind may be able to create for itself through another part of the brain an instrument for the reception of life from others and for the expression of life to others. The experience of Helen Keller strikingly illustrates this truth. When nineteen months old she had an attack, presumably, of cerebro-spinal meningitis, which left her totally and permanently blind and deaf; hence also dumb. She

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was thus left wholly dependent upon her senses of smell, taste, and touch for all her information, and could communicate her wants and feelings to others only by bodily actions which she had learned to associate in her mind with states of pleasure or of pain, but which, naturally enough, were often uninterpreted or misinterpreted by others. At seven years of age her teacher began the attempt to bring her into contact with the life of others through the sense of touch. It came at last in the following way: "Miss Sullivan had her hold a mug in her hand at a pump, and as the cold water filled the mug and ran on her hand, the teacher traced anew the letters w-a-t-e-r on the palm of her free hand. Miss Sullivan writes: 'She dropped the mug and stood as one transfixed. A new light came into her face. She spelled water several times.' The great step was gained when this blind deaf, and dumb girl suddenly understood that the symbol traced in her palm meant—water. She had got a word! From that moment her personality was set free, like a prisoner allowed to leave a dark dungeon to go wherever he lists, for now for the first time she knew that everything had a *name*, which she could learn on her palm." She tried to teach her dog by tracing the word water on his paws, but failed. Why? Because there was not back of the brain of the dog that which was back of the brain of the girl. From this first step she went on in the development of her mind until she graduated with honors at Radcliffe College, well versed in science, mathematics, literature, and five languages. How had she accomplished this feat? We say by the sense of touch. What do we mean by that? As the sense of touch is the most diffused over the surface of the body of all the senses, so it is of all the senses the least specialized in the brain. Its anatomical seat in the brain-center is even yet not fully demonstrated. But Helen Keller, by constant practice, made this brain-center render the service which the other portions of the brain could no longer render because they had been destroyed by disease. Destroy one of the strings in the Æolian harp and the wind will never get the note of that string out of the other strings; but if one of the strings in the violin snaps, the skillful performer will sometimes make another string do its work. This is what was done in Helen Keller's case. If there is no mind, what did this?

But not only in a specific and abnormal case like that of Helen Keller can science trace the development of the brain instrument by the use which is made of it by the mind; it is possible to trace in every life the development of the brain instrument by the agent which uses it. We speak of the brain. This is a mistake. There are two brains, as there are two eyes and two ears and two hands. Either one of the pair can do the whole business of both if necessary. One may see with one eye and hear with one ear; so he may think with one hemisphere of his brain. "The chief reasons," says Dr. Thomson, "why we have pair organs is, first, for convenience, due to the body itself being generally two-sided, right and left; and, secondly, to insure against emergencies, just as a man will provide himself with two keys for the same lock, lest he lose one." It is a curious fact that the brain instruments for speech are found in only one of the two hemispheres of the brain, while the other hemisphere remains wordless and therefore thoughtless for life. Generally they are in the left brain, but in left-handed persons they are in the right brain. Why is this? Gesture precedes speech. The child has a thought or feeling or desire. He endeavors to express it first by his hand, chiefly by his right hand. It is by the working of this hand that he stimulates and develops the organ of speech in the brain. Thus speech "began by one personality longing to communicate with others, and the first thing which he did then, as every human being still does when endeavoring to communicate with those whose vocal speech he does not know, was to make gestures with his hands." This gesture language of the hand develops the speech organ in the brain.

Let us, then, put these four considerations together. Like causes produce like effects, but like brains do not produce like results. Each section of the

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brain is the instrument for a special use. If it is destroyed, that use ceases, but the intelligence behind the brain remains unimpaired. If this destruction is so entire as to stop all the ordinary channels of expression, the intelligence that is behind the brain can convert a different portion of the brain to a use for which it was not primarily intended. Finally, the process by which the brain is built up, through the exercise of an invisible nerve agent, can be measurably traced in every child, and the tracing is abundantly confirmed by the experiences produced in nerve disease. If these considerations do not demonstrate that there is an invisible spirit which uses the brain as its instrument, they come as near to a demonstration as it is possible to come in dealing with so difficult a subject as the mystery of human life and the secret of its physical expression and interpretation.

❀

Ferdinand Brunetière

The critical literature of to-day is poorer by the withdrawal of such a force as M. Brunetière; a writer whose energy of moral conviction, vigor of ethical feeling, and thorough knowledge of French writing forms has made him a great power for the past twenty years. Since the death of Sainte-Beuve no critic has brought such breadth of knowledge, definiteness of standards, and thorough system to the service of criticism. Born in Gascony—a province the fluency and flamboyancy of whose speech have given a word to our own vocabulary—no modern writer has been freer from mere persiflage, from exaggeration and the excesses of an undirected imagination, than Brunetière. With Gallic animation, vivacity, and sense of form, he combined rigor of method and discipline of mind.

Brunetière began life as a teacher. He was made professor of literature at the École Normale in Paris in 1886, and seven years later was appointed lecturer at the Sorbonne and elected a member of the French Academy. His visit to this country nine years ago gave many Americans the opportunity of receiving a very definite impression of the vigor of his character and the breadth of his knowledge. In point of scholarship probably no French writer of his generation was his equal; nor did any French critic so thoroughly master and so rigorously apply the law of evolution to literary study. Of the more than twenty volumes which came from his hand there is not one which is not stamped throughout by thoroughness of thinking, exactness of knowledge, and condensation of statement. His "Manual of French Literature" is a masterpiece of that kind of condensation which, while discarding every superfluous word and putting into the smallest possible space every characterization, conveys a perfectly definite and thoroughly adequate impression of the subject with which it deals. For a quarter of a century M. Brunetière dealt with French literature from the evolutionary standpoint; and as his great predecessor, Sainte-Beuve, patiently collected every fact, ancestral or contemporary, that could throw light upon the character he was analyzing and presenting, M. Brunetière did not rest content until he had put a writer or a book in generic and specific relations to the period, pointing out in the clearest possible way the influence of race, of manner, and, above all, the constant interchange of influence between books. This exhaustive study brings to light the wealth of erudition, definiteness of method, and clearness of judgment which gave Brunetière a foremost place among the critics of his time.

The only other critic on the Continent whose position as an international force was comparable with his is Professor Georg Brandes. The two men have certain qualities in common. Both were born fighters, both represented and embodied the modern spirit and applied modern methods, both were notable for strength, courage, independence, rather than for grace or charm. But while Professor Brandes is a radical, M. Brunetière was a conservative. One of his chief services to French writing was the closeness and sympathy of his study of the works of the Classical period and the definiteness with which he has related the Classical and Romantic periods to the writing of to-day. He recognized

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what was sound in realism, but he was not for a moment blinded to its fundamental defects, either as a presentation of life or as a form of artistic expression. As Madame Blanc said of him in The Outlook two years ago, "He did not deny having moral prejudices—that is to say, the words conscience, duty, free will, have for him great significance, and in the midst of the flood of sensuality and bad taste which grows stronger every day, it is fortunate that this is so. . . . No one has done more than he has done in setting right the soul of French literature and maintaining its high standards in spite of the manifold causes conspiring to bear it down." These moral "prejudices" stood in the way of Brunetière's popularity with many of his literary contemporaries in France; they will not stand in the way of the recognition of his great services to French literature. His moral sanity, the fervor of his conviction, the elevation of his mind, his passion for telling the truth, have been tonic qualities in an age when impressionism, realism, and the work of the degenerates have done so much to waste the French genius and to deflect from normal lines of production the artistic impulses of the most talented of races. In an age of skepticism and a period of moral agitation he was a devout Roman Catholic.

THE GOLDEN RULE IN ATLANTA

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

We believe that this striking article by Mr. Washington calls for no further comment than the mere expression of our opinion that the story of the trial told at the close of the article recounts an incident which, from the point of view of both races, is one of the most significant and promising in the whole history of the real Reconstruction Era.—THE EDITORS.

THREE distinct movements looking to the improvement of the relations between the races have been started in Atlanta, Georgia, as a consequence of the September riots. The first of these, headed by ex-Governor Northern, aims to bring about the co-operation of the races along religious lines. The second has for its object the more practical education of the masses. The third is directed toward securing law and order through the practical co-operation of the better elements of both races. As a whole, I think I am safe in saying, the measures thus far taken and others proposed represent the most radical, far-reaching, and hopeful solution of the race problem that has ever been undertaken by Southern white people.

When a man's house is on fire, the fact easily publishes itself to the whole community. When he sets himself to rebuild it, the fact does not so easily attract attention. And yet if, warned by past experience, he builds in a way to avoid the danger of a second catastrophe, that may be the most significant fact about the whole matter. The illustration may fairly be applied to the city of Atlanta at the present time. There is hardly a man or woman in the United States who has not read of the September riots which resulted in the death of some fifteen or sixteen innocent negroes and some three or four equally innocent white people, one a woman and the other an officer of the law. On the other hand, the story of what Atlanta is doing in the direction of reconstructing the relations of mutual helpfulness between the races is probably only imperfectly known even in the city of Atlanta itself. This fact is my excuse for writing at this time of what I may call the work of "reconstruction" in Atlanta.

Immediately after the bloody and terrible events of September 22, 23, and 24, when the whole city was still in a state of terror, a public meeting of all citizens, white and black, was called to discuss the situation. As a result of that meeting a Committee of Ten was

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formed, as a "committee of safety," to recommend measures that should be taken to restore order and protect the lives of the inhabitants. Upon their recommendation all the saloons of the city, some one hundred and fifty in number, were closed, and remained closed for something like ten days; strict measures against loiterers and against all forms of disorder were taken. These were the measures taken to restore order and secure the public safety.

Meanwhile a committee of five prominent colored men had been appointed to confer with the Committee of Safety to aid and support them in the work they had undertaken. At the same time a meeting was held in which ten of the prominent white ministers and a similar number of the colored ministers took part. A member of the Committee of Ten appeared at this meeting for the purpose of assuring the colored people that the white people were their friends and intended to protect them as long as they obeyed the law. He asked the ministers to take this assurance to the members of their congregations and to use their efforts to induce the colored people of the city to return to their work. For by this time the industries of the city were fairly prostrated.

It was out of these two bodies and of the conferences which followed with the leaders of the colored people that the later organizations and the larger experiments in the co-operation of the races have sprung. The first thought of those who were principally concerned was in some way or other to make permanent the organizations that had grown up to meet an emergency, and to secure in this way the continued co-operation of the better elements of both races, looking to a permanent solution of the whole problem.

The first step taken in the direction of making permanent the co-operation of the races which the crisis had brought about was taken by ex-Governor W. J. Northern, President of the Atlanta Business Men's Gospel League. He proposed the formation of the Christian League. I can best indicate the character of this organization by quoting from the official statement of its purposes and the means by which it proposes to carry them into effect:

> The executive committee and general officers of the Business Men's Gospel Union, in consultation and co-operation with the ministers of the city, have undertaken the readjustment of the relations of the races at the South, through the formation of a Christian League, to which shall be eligible approved members of both races who will agree to promote, under the direction of the Gospel Union, the highest type of citizenship, maintain all existing laws, and promote peace and good will.
>
> The Christian League as such shall not be an organization, but its members shall consist of those who will agree to hold themselves subject to the call of the Business Men's Gospel Union, and who will agree to co-operate with the Union in its work, as outlined in its constitution.
>
> With the Christian League effected, its members, both white and colored, will constitute themselves a sort of Southern legion of honor, hoping to be more powerful in preserving patriotism and high morality than all laws or law officers elected to enforce them.

One of the first things undertaken under this arrangement was the designation of the second Sunday in December as a day when every minister in the city, white and colored, should preach a sermon upon law and order. Preparatory to this, and to other plans which the organization has in view, weekly prayer-meetings, at which members of both races are represented, have been held at the rooms of the colored Young Men's Christian Association.

It is the purpose of ex-Governor Northern, I understand, to extend the organization to every community in the South. I believe a similar organization has already been established at Nashville, Tennessee.

On November 18 there was published in the Atlanta Constitution a letter addressed to the people of Georgia by the Interdenominational Union of Colored Ministers. This letter recites the fact that of every one hundred persons in the State of Georgia over forty are colored, and that by the last Legislature something over $300,000 was appropriated for the establishment in every Congressional district in the State of an agricultural high school. With this preamble the letter proposes that a great central industrial school for negroes be established, and that schools of domestic

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science be established in the cities. The letter suggests "that such an arrangement would be positively helpful to the relations between the races, since it would tend to turn the minds of both away from their antagonisms and furnish a point of harmonious co-operation between them."

The purpose is to give the negro population what the white people are soon to have—thorough training in every department of labor in which they are now engaged. It recognizes the fact that the race question is and will probably continue to be for a long time to a large extent a question of labor. I understand that this project is favored by the white people, and that a sum amounting to something like $30,000 has already been subscribed toward carrying the plan into effect.

The third and perhaps the most important and far-reaching effort to bring about co-operation among the forces of law and order in both races has been due to Charles T. Hopkins, a young lawyer who has been prominent in politics in the city—a graduate, I am told, of Williams College and attorney for Atlanta University. Mr. Hopkins was one of the more influential members of the original Committee of Safety, and has taken a leading part in all the efforts to suppress violence since that time. The organization which he is now engaged in forming is to be known as the Civic League, and aims to make permanent the condition of peace that now reigns. This movement was started on Thanksgiving Day at a meeting of the Unity Club in Atlanta. The following is a copy of the notice which has been or will eventually be sent out to some five thousand prominent and public-spirited citizens:

> One of the results of the recent riot has been a rapidly growing sentiment that some intelligent action should be taken in order to prevent a repetition. Further loss of prestige, injury to business, anxiety, and bloodshed should be avoided if possible.
>
> Inspired with the belief that such measures should be adopted as will in the future prevent similar trouble, and in harmony with the growing sentiment, we, the undersigned, have consented to take the initiative towards an organization having but this one end in view.
>
> This is done after conference with a sufficient number of citizens to justify us in the statement that the great, overwhelming majority of law-abiding people in this country are opposed not only to riots and lynchings, but to any other form of injustice or violation of law.

The letter goes on to state that the objects of the organization are not political, and no one with a political ambition is desired as a member. The purpose of the organization will be to take such steps as will tend to promote peace between the races, secure an impartial administration of justice, and secure permanent protection to white and black alike. A similar association is in process of organization among the colored people. It is believed that no less than 1,500 members of the negro race in Atlanta will be eventually enrolled in this organization, the purpose of which is to co-operate with the organization of the other race in its efforts to secure peace and order in the community.

Already much has been accomplished by the co-operation of the races in this direction. Nineteen of the forty-two negroes originally indicted have been released. Twenty others remain to be tried. The cases against the members of the mob who attacked the negroes have been pressed, and if some who have been guilty have escaped, it has been due, perhaps, to the fact that it is impossible to change in so brief a time the state of feeling which made such an outbreak possible.

Meanwhile an earnest effort has been made through the medium of the newspapers to change public sentiment and enforce a new reverence for law and order. A remarkable series of letters from prominent ministers of the city has been published in the Atlanta Constitution. I can perhaps best give a notion of the tenor of these letters by quoting a few words from the letter of Bishop Seth Ward, of the Methodist Church, to the Constitution, dated October 31. He says:

> The race problem in the South can only be solved by raising the moral tone of both races. . . . Dives and all sorts of evil resorts that breed crime in blacks and whites alike must be suppressed. The safety of our Southland demands it. But while the work of suppression and correction is going on, we must give ourselves earnestly to the work

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of making moral character among all our people. It can be done. The church, the pulpit, the industrial school, must undertake the task. We dare not shrink from the work because it is slow and beset with difficulties. We of the white race, boasting ourselves the "superior race," must show our superiority by treating with exact justice and Christian consideration the weaker race —the unfortunate race—that dwells in our common territory.

The discussions in the papers in emphasizing different sides of the question have widened the point of view from which the public at large has been disposed to look at the race problem and suggested many new methods for effecting improvement. One of the matters which have been discussed by the committees that are now engaged in forming the Civic League among the white and the colored peoples is the plan of establishing in Atlanta what already exists in Macon, Georgia, namely, a force of colored policemen to preside in the parts of the city occupied almost entirely by colored people. These policemen would be appointed on the recommendation of the members of the Colored Civic League, and, being in a sense their policemen, it is believed that they would have the moral support of the colored population.

Another measure that has been proposed by the League is to employ an attorney to attend the court and, where necessary, assist in the defense of negroes who, through ignorance and a sort of indifference of despair that seems sometimes to overtake them when they are brought before the judge, have need of a friend in court to look after their case. The necessity for this is emphasized by the experience which Charles T. Hopkins, and two other attorneys who recently defended a man who was charged with having committed an assault upon a woman, had. Joe Glenn. the man arrested, was a prosperous farmer and property-owner. He was arrested upon suspicion November 13, and taken to the house of the woman, who positively identified him. It was with difficulty that the officers succeeded in getting him to the city and safely lodged in the city prison. After this had been accomplished Mr. Hopkins went at once to Trial Justice Roan and suggested to him that it was to the interest of the city at large that the man have a speedy but a fair trial. The Judge agreed, and appointed Mr. Hopkins to try the case, which he did with the assistance of two other well-known attorneys. Upon an examination of the evidence the attorneys became convinced that Glenn was an innocent man, and saw themselves compelled to secure the man's acquittal. They had taken up the case with no other expectation or desire than that the man should be quickly and decently hanged. They secured some of the best citizens in Atlanta to serve upon the jury. Glenn was regularly tried. Twenty-five of his white neighbors swore to his good character. The evidence was so strong that even though he was positively identified by the woman in question, who lost control of herself and denounced him on the witness stand, he was acquitted. The jury was out but four minutes. A circumstance that contributed to his acquittal was the arrest, upon another charge, of the man who has since turned out to be the real criminal.

In an editorial entitled "A Lesson to Rashness" the Atlanta Constitution says:

> Never was a stronger plea made for the saner course than in the dramatic ending of this remarkable trial. It is the province of laws to deal impartial justice—punishment to the guilty, vindication to the innocent. Here, without the intervention of the law, an innocent life would have been sacrificed.

This is the first important task accomplished in the spirit, if not in the name, of the new Atlanta Civic League. It is undoubtedly the first time that a negro accused of this crime, who had been positively identified by his supposed victim, ever escaped death. Glenn's attorneys bought him a suit of clothes and gave him a ticket to reach a farmer in Alabama, where he might go and live safely until excitement in the neighborhood of his own home should pass away.

The foregoing, then, is my warrant for the statement that the efforts now being made represent the most radical, far-reaching, and hopeful solution of the race problem that has ever been undertaken by Southern white people.

Tuskegee, Alabama, December 8, 1906.

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A CONTINENT OF REPUBLICS[1]

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER

Special Correspondent of The Outlook in South America

THE Brazil of the twenty-first century, with its blendings of German, Italian, and divers other European stocks upon a basis of Portuguese, African, and Indian, will be ethnically quite different from the nation of to-day, just as the New England of the same period, with its extraordinary comminglings of Canadian French, Italians, Portuguese, Scandinavians, Poles, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, must contain a people in race and temperament radically different from the almost purely English stock of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or that of the nineteenth, in which the Irish element furnished the principal new ingredient. A country with such vast unoccupied and fertile regions must inevitably attract a great immigration for the upbuilding of a country correspondingly great and powerful.

The character of the coming Brazilian race is a matter to which various able publicists and men of letters in the Brazil of to-day are giving a serious attention that speaks well for their patriotic solicitude. They are keenly alive to existing shortcomings, and speak of them with a frankness which a stranger among them would not venture to employ. A desire fervently expressed by some of these men is for the "grading-up" of the race by the introduction of virile elements from the more hardy and vigorous European stocks. One of the younger statesmen, for instance, Senhor Graça Aranha, an academician and a brilliant novelist, a member of the Brazilian delegation to the recent Conference of American Republics, has lately discussed this question in a way that made no little sensation. In his very remarkable novel, "Chanaan," he indicates that from German immigration an important regenerating force is to be looked for.

This brings us to the question of German colonization in Brazil. The idea lately current in the States and in England that herein lies a menace to Brazilian independence, that in connection therewith Germany cherishes sinister intentions of securing territorial aggrandizement, appears nothing more than a bugaboo conjured up by persons fond of attributing all sorts of dark designs to Germany. Germany's commercial influence in South America is great and increasing. But it would be difficult to connect these Brazilian colonies with any political plottings. The German population is not large enough to attempt any movement for independence, even had it the inclination. Moreover, the colonies are scattered and widely separated. The only direct connection with Germany lies in the circumstance that the Lutheran churches in the colonies belong to the Prussian synod and so are supported by the Prussian Government. But the several Episcopalian parishes existing in South America belong to the English Established Church, and so are directly connected with the British Government. There seems to be no more significance in one case than in the other.

The German colonies are located chiefly in the States of Espiritu Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. Most of these colonies are so old as to represent three or four generations. Many are so isolated that even the youngest generations speak German and are commonly ignorant of Portuguese. Nevertheless, assimilation seems inevitable. All these populations will ultimately be blended with the national Portuguese-speaking mass. In some of the cities, such as São Paulo, large quantities of Germans have thus been absorbed, just

[1] A preceding article on this general subject will be found in The Outlook for last week (issue of December 8).—THE EDITORS.

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as they have been in Milwaukee, Chicago, or St. Louis. In some of the older colonies, such as Petropolis, Therezopolis, and the German-Swiss Novo Friburgo in the State of Rio, the people have been almost completely assimilated. I have met here and there German-speaking young men. To my remark, "You are German, I suppose," the reply would always be, "Oh, no, my parents are German, but I am a Brazilian." The feeling of nationality is strong among the children of foreigners, whether English, American, German, French, or Italian. "I am a Brazilian," would be the invariable declaration of these young people, a note of pride in the voice.

To return to the Brazilian of to-day. What is the effect of the negro blend so general in the masses, particularly in southern and eastern Brazil? Let us look at coffee for an analogy. Liberian coffee, for instance, is unpleasant by itself—a strong, rank-flavored beverage. But in a skillful blend it is a desirable element; amidst the more delicate grades it gives body and imparts a rich and gratifying sub-flavor. So with the negro. As a rule, he is mentally inferior. The white man finds him physically repugnant. But commonly he is amiable, gentle, and impulsive. In a racial blend, the predominant elements white, the repellent traits of the negro are transformed, supplying qualities that mentally, emotionally, and physically become sympathetic and attractive. The negro's sensuality, for instance, loses its brutality and induces the sensuous qualities essential to the artistic temperament. This is illustrated in great Europeans like the two Dumas, Pushkin, and Coleridge, the contemporary English musical composer. Does not the same blend account for the eminence of Brazilians in literature, painting, sculpture, and music?

It has been said that the Brazilians are too gentle, too amiable, as a people; that they need more vigor, more stamina. Such criticism comes from within as from without. As a people they have an uncommon mental alertness, perceptive and responsive. But they are said to be deficient in large generalizing powers, and too often lacking in what we call "horse sense." With such attributes the influence of environment, of example, seems to be particularly strong. What are commonly deemed national defects—numerous administrative shortcomings in government, for instance, or inadequate standards of commercial integrity—seem ascribable to this cause. As to the latter, there is perhaps another reason, just as with the Japanese: among the better classes a feeling that trade is essentially unworthy and dishonorable, employing low and animalistic faculties, mean, selfish, predatory.

A people of such traits seems peculiarly amenable to strong leadership. Docile and receptive, they are as easily inclined to walk in right ways as in wrong. The more vigorous elements of the racial composite seem to be largely supplying this leadership in recent days—men, for instance, of German descent, or with much German blood in their veins. Such are some of the strongest statesmen. Under such leadership great advances have lately been made, and greater should be looked for. The magnificent progress made of late in the "Empire State" and its capital, São Paulo, and the wonderful reconstruction of Rio de Janeiro, furnish cases in point.

In Argentina the white race predominates in the population, probably more than in any other large South American country. The native Argentino has achieved a fixed racial character, and the immigration is chiefly from northern Italy and from Spain. The Argentino is largely of Gaucho stock—the cattle-herders of the pampas—and Spanish Creoles. The race has become more or less tinctured with the Indian blood, which here, unlike the case in Mexico, constitutes a minor rather than a major ingredient. In the Argentino the negro element is also not wanting. But here the assimilating process was long since complete. "Falucho," the negro hero of the war for independence, honored with a spirited statue in Buenos Aires, represented a very considerable element in the population a century ago. In the great sugar region of Tucumán thousands of negro slaves were employed. Early in the revolution against Spain the slaves were set free. Hence, among

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other deeds that entitled San Martín to fame was that which made him the first great emancipator in the New World. This negro element was absorbed in the general population long ago. Over a million (or about twenty-one per cent.) of Argentina's population is of European birth, over five hundred thousand being Italian and two hundred thousand Spanish. While an extensive immigration of other nationalities may be looked for, it seems probable that the two elements, Spanish and Italian, will always give the dominant color to the Argentine people.

Not only the nation, but the section of the nation from which immigrants come, goes far to determine the character of the population. One is puzzled to account for the almost unceasingly turbulent condition of Uruguay, when the two great neighboring countries have long been tranquil. A friend who has traveled much in Uruguay says that it seems to be in the blood of the people; that the elements differ considerably from those that make up the Argentine blend, the basic stock of Uruguay appearing to be largely Andalusian, with a strong infusion of Guarani Indian. Geographically, the Banda Oriental, as Uruguay is called, is a continuation of southern Brazil, its undulating and hilly character differentiating it radically from the vast plains of Argentina. Socially, Uruguay is strongly affiliated with Argentina, gravitating thereto under the influences of language and race and a common Old World culture. But temperamentally the Uruguayans seem very different from the Argentinos. This is perhaps chiefly due to the tradition of chronic civil war that has afflicted the little country—its size is about that of South Carolina and Tennessee together—almost ever since Argentina wrested it from Brazilian domination early in the nineteenth century. Environment, rather than racial character, seems to be chiefly responsible for these lamentable conditions. The interminable contentions of the Blancos and the Colorados, the Whites and the Reds, the two great factions, are said to be based more upon the desire to "get in" or to "keep in" for the sake of the spoils of control than for any real principle at stake. But the contentions and the hatreds are very bitter and irreconcilable, greatly to the detriment of a land of extremely rich resources. One might suppose that one or both of the two great neighbors would interpose and make Uruguay behave herself. But her actions appear to be chiefly due to her relation to her big neighbors. Uruguay is a "buffer State;" conscious of her position, knowing that interference from one neighbor would arouse the other to hostility, she feels privileged to misbehave as she will. To look upon the great and beautiful city of Montevideo, growing rapidly, developing along modern lines, one would hardly suspect the violence that so frequently possesses its public places. One would as soon expect to see the people of Newark or Worcester shooting one another from the housetops! Sooner or later Uruguay will come to her senses. It seems curious that through all this strife the currency of the country has been kept stable and upon a gold basis.

All over South America, with the temporary exception of the extreme north, we see a great and steady progress that seems immensely hopeful. And one of the most hopeful aspects lies in the circumstance that in nearly all these countries statesmen and publicists of the highest character are giving their best thought and endeavor to the manifold problems of national progress. These are men of lofty ideals and of the ripest scholarship, familiar with the lessons of history and in touch with the broadest contemporary thought. In no part of the world are to be found public men more truly patriotic—patriotic in the best sense; inspired by a genuine love of country, the desire to see it progress and prosper in the measure of its best possibilities. Where such capacity for constructive leadership exists, it sooner or later must inevitably find room for the adequate exercise of its powers. Such leadership is still hampered, however, by the lack of sufficient following, the intelligent multitude necessary for a true democracy. The South American nations, to be sure, may still have more than their share of the ills of misgovernment that afflict the world in general. We ourselves are by no means lacking.

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But the prevalent idea in Europe and our own country that throughout that continent public office is synonymous with graft, self-aggrandizement, and colossal exploitation of the public resources for personal enrichment, is far from the truth. That this idea should so universally obtain is keenly felt by men who know that it is untrue. An eminent Brazilian publicist, Manoel Bomfim, notes this in a notable book recently published, "America Latina: Males de Origem" (Latin America: Its Fundamental Evils). He quotes as a typical example the French anti-Socialist Le Bon, who asserts: "In those unfortunate republics pillage is general. . . . The Presidents are regularly assassinated in order to put a new party in power with a turn at the plunder." Senhor Bomfim asks: "What matters it that there are countries like Brazil, where, among all the Presidents of the Council, there has never been a single one who was not esteemed as a man upright and clean, living by his own means, and all generally poor? What matters it that among all the Presidents of the Republic—in troubled times, when they all have discretionary power—there was not a single one who was not universally considered as rigorously, scrupulously honest from the point of view of pecuniary interest, every one of them leaving his office as little of a millionaire as when he entered it?" Senhor Bomfin's work was suggested by the study of "Physics and Politics," by Bagehot—an author who also profoundly impressed another Brazilian statesman, Dr. Joachim Nabuco, the Ambassador at Washington. The fundamental evil of Latin America Dr. Nabuco declares to be social parasitism; the predatory motives that marked the beginnings of the various colonies, establishing as the ideal for worldly success the exploitation of the land and the people for personal profit. He therefore urges the development of a true democracy. "A republic, democracy, liberty—these," he says, "are incompatible with ignorance." In the diffusion of public instruction he sees the best remedy for existing evils. "Education means preparation for liberty, duty, science, comfort, art, and morality."

On the other hand, another very eminent Brazilian, a man of letters, Eduardo Prado, not long ago struck a discordant note in a public address in which he endeavored to dispel "the American illusion." He took a cynical view of the mutual relations of South American States. "American fraternity is a lie," he said. And he averred that among the Spanish-American nations there were more hatreds, more animosities, than between the countries of Europe. For confirmation he cited numerous instances of hostilities and of strained relations.

Judging solely by the past, or even by certain present indications, there might seem to be no little justification for this view. There does appear to be no little danger that South America, divided as it is like Europe into numerous sovereign States with more or less conflicting interests, might drift into a most undesirable replica of European conditions—full of international jealousies, intrigues; the continental condition more that of a truce than of general peace; the best energies of the peoples sapped by the costs of heavy armaments, both military and naval. Just now there are various unquieting indications of such a tendency.

Nevertheless Senhor Prado's survey of continental conditions seems altogether narrow and short-sighted. Against it may be set various encouraging indications in the other direction—the harmonious deliberations of the recent Conference at Rio, for one thing. In that Conference the agreement of the various countries to arbitrate all differences was continued for another five years. Argentina, indeed, wanted to go further and make arbitration compulsory. Still more significant, however, is the growing aspiration towards greater unity among all American countries, voiced very generally in the press and in the utterances of public men. Mr. Root's visit did immense service in this direction. A very eminent Argentino, Señor Francisco Seeber, in his book "Great Argentina," has given admirable expression to this sentiment for continental unification. He hopes for the overcoming of the "village prejudices which still predominate as the fruit of deficient culture." He

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says that "the grand work of American union, the suppression of the national frontiers in respect of what is odious and prejudicial without effacing the distinctive life of the peoples or their character or patriotism, would assure for always their independence and the prosperity of America." And he asks: "If in the north eighty millions of men, who receive annually nearly a million foreigners, with forty-five confederated States extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, each of them with distinct constitution and laws, some with antagonistic economic interests, have been able to constitute a formidable nation, enormously rich, considerably educated, exceptionally vigorous and enterprising—why should not all the States of the South, without constituting a single nation, be able to harmonize their civil, political, and economic legislation and their military organization, and to establish perfect relations with one another, which at a given moment might be converted into an offensive and defensive alliance?"

The achievement of this ideal may yet be a long way off. Is the author a political dreamer? At all events, he is also a man of practical affairs and of worldly success—lately the Intendante General, or Mayor, of Buenos Aires. The ideal seems at least much nearer than when the visionary Bolívar dreamed of a unified South America as a pedestal to his own vainglorious ambition.

POLAND'S PITIABLE CONDITION

BY G. H. BLAKESLEE

This article is the result of a recent visit to Warsaw by the author, Professor Blakeslee, of the Collegiate Department of Clark University. He found conditions there worse than in other parts of the Russian Empire that he visited. Professor Blakeslee had the opportunity of discussing Polish questions with a number of representative men of different parties, while the things actually described in the article were in some instances seen by the author personally, in others narrated to him by trustworthy witnesses.—THE EDITORS.

CONDITIONS in Poland differ in almost every respect from those existing in Russia. The aims and ideals of the people, the life in city and country, the political parties and political methods, the Government oppression, and the Socialist terror, are all peculiarly Polish.

Warsaw, the capital, is not a Russian but a western European city. Its handsome business blocks, its modern apartment-houses, its convenient garden-restaurants, its busy commercial life, all remind one of Germany rather than of the land of the Czar. Conditions in Warsaw, too, are not the same as conditions in the Russian capitals. In St. Petersburg life is comparatively safe; the police are courteous and considerate, and do not interfere with the personal convenience of ordinary citizens and travelers. Moscow appears to be a more dangerous place, but though the police are armed with rifles, in ordinary times it is perfectly safe to be upon the streets. In Warsaw it is different. Few policemen are to be seen, for most of them have either been killed by the terrorists or frightened into resigning their posts, but the streets swarm with troops—with infantry and cavalry. They stand at almost every street corner, they guard all Government buildings, all banks, all liquor shops; they patrol the streets in twos and threes and in groups of from twenty to a hundred. Bands of Cossacks continually gallop by, each ready to shoot at any moment, his rifle in his right hand and his finger an inch or so from the trigger.

And they do shoot. Life is unsafe in Warsaw; hardly a day passes but some innocent bystander is shot. Every person one meets has a story to relate of some recent outrage by the soldiers. In one section of the city, for example, there had been a drunken brawl, which disturbed no one outside of the house in which it took place, yet the soldiers deliberately fired up and down the street,

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killing two and wounding others of the passers-by. In one of the suburbs a Government liquor store was plundered. After the rioters had gone home the soldiers came, and, since no one was to be seen, fired a few volleys into the neighboring pine grove; none of the rioters were there, but a poor consumptive was living in a hut in the grove, and he was shot. At his funeral a few days later the Cossacks fired into the funeral procession, and killed and wounded over a score of people. These are the ordinary events which have been taking place in Warsaw the past summer; but in days of excitement the situation is even worse. August 15, after the terrorists had shot many of the police, thousands of additional troops were rushed into all parts of the city, and in many quarters they fired volley after volley down the streets. Volleys were even fired into the houses, and many were killed who were quietly sitting in their own homes. Hundreds of innocent people, whose only wish was to keep out of harm's way, were killed or wounded.

If one escapes being shot in Warsaw, there is still the danger of being personally inconvenienced by the troops. For example, one may be walking in the central park of the city when suddenly the gates are guarded, and all, even women and children, are compelled to pass out between a line of soldiers, to undergo a search, and show proper documents. If a person is merely attracted by the crowd and approaches the park entrance, he is liable to be captured by the troops, who rush out and try to seize him because he has shown improper curiosity. A hundred persons are then marched off through the streets to the police station, while American and English passports do not prevent those who own them from being jabbed with the butt-ends of rifles. An irritated soldier exclaimed the other day: "Don't you know that I could break every bone in your body and no one would do anything to me, for I'm a soldier?" This is the spirit in Warsaw; it almost staggers belief to hear the repeated, detailed accounts of the manner in which soldiers and police have the past summer struck, clubbed, kicked, and whipped their prisoners, women as well as men, innocent as well as guilty; it is brutal, unrestrained force. A sight seen not long ago in Warsaw—a drunken Russian artillerist, with drawn saber, staggering and reeling up the main street of this proud old capital—is a good picture of Russia's present military power in Poland.

The Government terror is answered by the Socialist terror, which is more bloody, more relentless, and more successful than the Socialist terror in Russia proper. But the murders and the robberies are demoralizing the people. To shoot a man is a very ordinary thing nowadays, and the details of the latest killing are discussed much as are the plays in an athletic match. "That murder was very prettily done," said a well-educated Socialist recently, as he told of a certain assassination, describing it with the same glowing enthusiasm with which an American college student might tell of a football victory. The community seems hardened to bloodshed. And the train robberies, bank robberies, and looting of liquor shops, done at first for purely political purposes, are degenerating into mere brigandage for the sake of plunder.

And yet, whether the terror is right or wrong, the reckless daring and the consummate skill of the terrorists must be admired. In the face of the severest Government oppression and the strictest martial law, they do what they please and when they please. If they wish to shoot policemen, they do so, though each is guarded by five or six soldiers. In ten days in July they killed or wounded some twenty-seven officials, most of whom were policemen, and August 15, during the few hours of the morning, they shot about forty others. The terrorists shoot well; the majority of those whom they hit are killed, while they themselves usually escape.

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If they sentence to death any prominent official, his life is worth but little, however strongly and carefully he may be guarded, for they plan their important assassinations with great skill. The arrangements for the murder of Governor-General Skallon were made some two to three months in advance. The Governor-General had been forewarned

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of the attempt upon his life, and guarded himself; he had to be brought out of his seclusion and made to come through some street where he could be attacked. So the following scheme was adopted: A terrorist in the uniform of a high Russian officer went to the German Consul and boxed his ears. The Socialists foresaw that it would be necessary for the Governor-General to make a personal call upon this German official in order to apologize for the international wrong. To arrive at the German Consulate he had to go through a certain narrow street, and there the terrorists waited for him, and, as he was passing, desperately wounded him by exploding two bombs under his carriage.

The audacity of the terrorists is as surprising as their shrewdness. A Socialist disguised in a gendarme uniform recently went to a prison where several politicals were confined and stated that he had orders for the transfer of ten of the prisoners. He produced seemingly official documents which authorized the transfer, and not only gave the names of the prisoners to be transferred, but also their correct prison numbers. After staying an hour or so in the prison, this disguised revolutionist took his comrades out and released them.

Such young people as these are risking their lives every day and every hour in their battle against the Government. There are no chances which they will not take, no dangers which they fear, and, with their audacity and their shrewdness, they usually succeed. The best of them, university students or recent graduates for the most part, are ready instantly to sacrifice everything, even life itself, for their cause. To spend an evening with some of these leaders, to see them fired with enthusiasm as they discuss their plans for overthrowing Government oppression and for making life happier and better for the half-starved peasants and workingmen, is to live for a time in an atmosphere of higher moral purpose than that which usually characterizes American university circles. Yet these idealists will shoot and kill without compassion and without remorse, and will laughingly describe in detail how easily and pleasantly a fellow-terrorist has accomplished a recent murder. One marvels at their idealism and shudders at their cruelty.

The general political situation in Poland is unique; the political parties are, in the main, different from the Russian, and their platforms are largely filled with demands that are peculiarly Polish.

The leading party, the National Democratic, is made up of the old Polish aristocracy, the landowners, churchmen, merchants, and the well-to-do classes in general. It is nationalistic, clerical, and anti-Jewish, and is suspicious of the Russian Liberals.

It is nationalistic because the Russians for the past forty years have persecuted everything that is Polish, and have tried systematically to make the country Russian in speech, customs, and institutions. The Poles have been forbidden to use their own language in either schools, law courts, or Government offices. If a ten-year-old boy was heard to use a Polish expression in the hall of the school-house, he was expelled from the institution; if a Pole used a word of his native language in buying stamps in the post-office or in paying his taxes in the assessor's office, he was liable to serve a term in prison. Poland has been ruled and taxed like a conquered country. The officials who have made the laws, the police who have enforced them, and the soldiers who have suppressed revolt have all been Russian foreigners. Even to-day, after the rigor of the Russian system has been relaxed, the Polish language is still forbidden in the Government schools, courts, and offices; Poles are scarcely allowed to hold any important official positions; and no trace of local government exists. Such treatment has made the great mass of the Poles strongly nationalistic.

The party is clerical because it reflects the feelings of the majority of the Poles, who, on account of the long religious persecution by the Russians, have become more than ordinarily devoted to their Catholic faith.

It is somewhat anti-Jewish precisely because it is so nationalistic and so clerical. It dislikes the Jews because it looks upon them as neither Christians nor Poles.

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That the party should be suspicious of the Russian Liberals, and should wish to leave the way open for any concessions that it can obtain directly from the Russian Government itself, seems at first extraordinary, but the explanation is simple. It was the Russian Liberals who were foremost in instituting the repressive policy against Poland after her unsuccessful revolt of 1863. The National Democrats say: "If we join heart and hand in helping the Russian Liberals to win their fight, what guarantee have we that they will not do as their predecessors did in 1863, and try to stamp out our language, institutions, and culture?"

These tendencies have made the party somewhat conservative, or at least have prevented it from becoming very radical; but this conservative quality is shown more in its general spirit and its methods than in its platform, which does not differ very essentially from that of the other parties. Its principal demand is that Poland shall be autonomous—shall have a Parliament of its own, in which Polish representatives shall have full power to regulate strictly Polish affairs. It does not seek nor wish for immediate independence. As one of its members said, "In a hundred years independence may be desirable, but not now; we may look forward to it only as a dream of the future." It is recognized that independence would be an economic and a political disadvantage. At the present time Poland is a great manufacturing district, with its best market in Russia, into whose cities and towns it ships its goods free of duty; if independent, it would not only be deprived of this free market, but would probably sooner or later lose its independence, situated as it is between such neighbors as Germany and Russia.

"Why is it," one of the National Democrats was asked, "that while Poland is the most abused section of Russia, its people as a whole are the most conservative?" "We are conservative," was the answer, "because we believe we can gain more in that way than by being radical. We do not believe in rebellion, because it is sure to be a failure. We disapprove of the terrorist methods, because they do no good, harm our cause, and demoralize the people. We believe in presenting our just demands to the next Duma, and if they are not granted by the next we shall present them to the one following."

It seems to be generally conceded in Warsaw that the great majority of the Polish delegation in the next Duma will be National Democratic.

Between the moderate National Democrats and the Socialists there is in Poland no great middle party, such as is formed by the Russian Constitutional Democrats, who have been able to unite the greater part of the Russian people upon a platform which is radical, but, so far as possible, is neither revolutionary nor Socialistic.

There are several different organizations among the Socialists, but by far the largest and the most important is the Polish Socialist party, which is strongly nationalistic as well as Socialistic, although Socialism is supposed to be cosmopolitan in its aims and sympathies. The party paper, the Robotnik, though its circulation is officially prohibited, is nevertheless sold secretly even upon the streets of Warsaw. A university graduate remarked not long ago, as he pulled a copy out from his desk: "If the police should search the house and find this, they would probably put me in prison for some three months; but conditions are better now than formerly, for two or three years ago a single copy would have sent me to Siberia."

The Polish Socialist party differs widely from the National Democratic in spirit, character of membership, and methods; but its platform indorses every plank of the National Democratic, and merely adds certain radical and Socialistic demands of its own. It stands, for example, for an eight-hour working day, with a minimum wage, for old-age pensions, and compulsory workingmen's insurance.

The hatred which exists between the two parties is probably due primarily to their social differences. The Polish Socialist party is almost entirely composed of workingmen and peasants, with an upper layer of idealistic students and educated young radicals who are usually

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its leaders. Since it looks forward to the day when the Socialists shall overthrow the present rule of the middle classes, and since the National Democratic is largely a middle-class party, there is an impassable gulf between the two, however earnestly they both may be working to obtain certain common national demands.

It is the fighting section of the Polish Socialist party that has organized the terror. The fighting members live much of the time under false names and false passports in order to deceive the police. "But how do you manage to get all the necessary passes and documents?" one of the Socialists was asked. He laughed and said, "Oh, we have our own pass bureau much as the Government has." Even among themselves the terrorists are known solely by nicknames. Members often meet, week after week, plan murders and execute them, without knowing who their fellows really are. The assassination of Russian officials who have been guilty of acts of cruelty, while not officially sanctioned by the other parties, has been very generally approved by the people as a whole. But in some cases, in the latter part of the summer at least, the terrorists have shot policemen simply because they were policemen, in order to terrorize the Government, prevent it from making political arrests, protect the work of the Socialist parties, and show to the world that Russian martial law is a failure. This shooting of policemen merely as such is disapproved by the great majority of the people.

The Social Democrats of Poland are a branch of the great Russian Social Democratic party. They are less numerous and less influential than their Socialistic rivals, the Polish Socialist party, but are considered more orthodox in their Socialism, being more unswerving in their following of the Socialist prophet, Karl Marx. The division between the two parties springs fundamentally from the fact that the Polish Socialist party places far greater emphasis upon Polish nationality than do the Social Democrats. In regard to methods, the Social Democrats believe, in general, in mass movements, in parades, strikes, and, as a last resort, in a general armed uprising, but do not believe in individual acts of terrorism.

The Bund may be called the Jewish section of the Social Democratic party, for it merely adds to the Social Democratic platform a demand for Jewish autonomy. It wishes to have the Jews control their own affairs much as a religious denomination in the United States controls its affairs, through local and general assemblies.

The platforms of all the Polish parties, of which these are only the most prominent, agree in many important respects. They all demand such rights as liberty of conscience, press, speech, and association. They all agree in asking for autonomy for Poland, with all the various privileges which that would give, while not one asks or wishes for complete independence.

The situation of Poland to-day is pitiable. Business in Warsaw has fallen off fifty per cent. and more; the fashionable boulevards are partly deserted; the restaurants are but half filled, and the leading hotel is running at a loss. The city swarms with troops, but martial law brings only oppression, not security. Hardly a day passes but officials are killed or wounded by the terrorists, while suspected persons are arrested, clubbed, or shot to death by the authorities. The terrorists are strong enough to defy the Government, while the Government is strong enough to crush a general revolt, and the result is anarchy. When it will end no one can tell. But some day peace will surely come, for Poland is to have autonomy. The Poles demand it. The great majority of the Russian Duma has promised it, and Russian liberalism must eventually win.

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INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

WOMEN IN TRADE UNIONS

BY FLORENCE KELLEY

Executive Secretary of the National Consumers' League

THE need of trade unions for women is more poignant to-day in the United States than in any other country. For ours is the only nation in which any court has held that the hours of work of women cannot be limited by statute.

Such a judicial decision places upon the trade unions and other voluntary associations (such as the Consumers' League) the impossible task of protecting women employed in manufacture and commerce from night-work and overwork unaided by Nation or State. In enlightened industrial States protection is afforded by a national law in the interest of the public health, efficiency, and morals.

Portugal and several countries of eastern Europe have deferred legislation upon the hours of work of women. But in none has a court held it contrary to the constitution so to legislate. England, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, far from intrusting this important task of protecting the public health to the precarious success of labor unions, prohibit outright night-work for women. Beginning in 1907, this will be true of Italy also. Moreover, international agreements are now in process of negotiation among fourteen European States for the purpose of abolishing night-work for women in manufacture.

Our peculiarly urgent need for trade unions of women arises from the adverse decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois (Ritchie vs. the People, March 15, 1895) wherein the Court held unconstitutional that statute which restricted the hours of work of women to eight in one day and to forty-eight in one week. If the Constitution of Illinois alone had been invoked, an amendment might have been passed without much loss of time, conferring upon the Legislature the powers which it lacked. The Court, however, invoked the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, holding that women are citizens in the sense that their freedom of contract cannot be interfered with, although in Illinois their political rights as citizens go no further than the power to vote, once in four years, for trustees of the State University of Illinois.

The results of this judicial decision have been far-reaching and sinister, and the end is not yet. In Illinois the immediate effect was that women were required to work all night in a wide variety of occupations. In others they were required to work far into the night. And this was and is perfectly legal. And this is the strongest possible stimulus to the formation of unions among women.

In Chicago the laundries maintain hours which are regularly irregular, Monday being a short day and Friday and Saturday having neither beginning nor ending except as work is completed. It is no rare thing for girls to faint at their work. Girls have been removed from the laundry to the hospital suffering exhaustion after working sixteen, eighteen, and even twenty hours in heat and dampness in ill-ventilated laundries. At "rush" seasons, despite the efforts of the unions, there is no limit to the hours of work in the garment trades, in candy and paper-box factories, and all industries which center about Christmas.

Children under sixteen years of age cannot legally work after 7 P.M. in Illinois. This law is enforced, and working children go home at that hour even during the holiday season. But at the sixteenth birthday they make the sudden transition to a position in industry deprived of all protection save that afforded by trade unions. Girls then become citizens in the sense that the

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law affords them no further safety from the demand that they work all night or "lose their job." True, a statute might still be held constitutional which should restrict their hours of labor until their majority. Then, however, all legal protection would be denied them according to the fundamental law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court of Illinois.

Work at night involves injury to the human body by reason of the unavoidable use of artificial light, but far more by reason of the loss of sleep. This can never be made up in the crowded quarters in which working people live. Men who work at night are proverbially under temptation to use stimulants and sedatives. They suffer from exhaustion and nervous disorders unless they are able to take unusually good care of their health. But the wages of women engaged in manufacture never, even in their strongest unions, permit them to take unusually good care of themselves. While, therefore, an occasional exception may be found, it is the rule that a half-year of such work causes nervous breakdown of serious character among women and girls even of stalwart peasant inheritance.

The moral dangers for women and young girls doing work at night are so gross as scarcely to need statement. The midnight lunch hour knows no chaperons. In the milder parts of the year young and old, men and girls, are out of mills and workshops in the dark, warm night. In winter mornings, on the other hand, at four, five, and six o'clock the streets are no safe place for women returning homeward, weary from the long night's work. The saloons, offering brightness, warmth, cheer, and stimulant, possess a charm absent at other times. The very cold and darkness of early morning remove a restraint powerful by daylight—the fear of the observant neighbor who would disapprove.

Work at night ruins home life. If a widowed mother leaves her children at night, the boys are in the street and the girls are a prey to evil people who may know of the mother's regular absence. If daughters who live at home work at night, their vain effort to sleep by day places restraint upon the family amounting to banishment of noisy younger boys and girls to the street.

It is not accidental that in Chicago since 1895 independent trade unions of women have developed with greater life and persistence than have been found before in industries in which their work does not interlock with the work of men. We are accustomed to unions of men and women together among cigar-makers, boot and shoe workers, cotton spinners and weavers, and garment workers. But in Chicago since the judicial decision in question there have been the unions of the Lady Cracker Packers and the Tick Makers. Even the Sicilian peasant women who do hand-sewing at home under the sweating system have had a union, embracing at one time over one thousand members pledged to a scale of hours and wages. The paper-box makers' union, too, represents an industry employing many children and few men.

Independent, spontaneous unions of women are not to be seen, on any corresponding scale, in Massachusetts, where since 1876 the hours of labor of women have been fixed by statute, first at sixty in one week and later at fifty-eight. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts having settled, a generation ago, all question as to the power and the duty of the Legislature to regulate the hours of work of women in manufacture, ten o'clock is the limit of their night-work. The serious grievance of the long day and long night being removed, separate unions of women, such as laundry workers, find it hard to maintain a stable existence. But powerful unions of men, by their steadying presence, keep women together in the printing trade, cigar-making, and the textiles. This is, of course, the highest and most desirable type of union, where men and women are together.

In New York there has been for twenty years upon the statute-books a provision that women shall not work after 9 P.M. in manufacture, or longer than ten hours in one day and sixty hours in one week. The statute is ill drawn, and has not hitherto been vigorously enforced by prosecutions. Yet a restrictive effect is indicated by the fact

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that several corporations having branches both in New York and Chicago employed women at night in the Western factory, but not in New York. Now, however, under the vigorous prosecutions carried on by Mr. Sherman, the new Commissioner of Labor of New York, cases will be promptly carried to the Court of Appeals involving the validity of the prohibition of work at night.

Will the Court of Appeals follow the time-honored, enlightened precedent of Massachusetts, or the unsupported precedent of Illinois? Upon the answer to this question depends in large measure the future of women's trade unions in New York.

If the Court of Appeals should follow the example of Illinois, turning over to trade unions and other voluntary associations the hopeless task of protecting women from night-work and overwork without support in law for the effort, it will become the urgent duty of all good citizens (pending the necessary amending of the Constitution) to promote unions in every branch of industry in which women are employed. For physical and moral degeneracy attend overwork and night-work on the scale inevitable (when the protective statute is swept away) in the garment trades, the paper-box and confectionery trades, and all industries in which the seasons and the usages of gift-making cause a concentration of demand.

The second and abiding reason for the maintenance of trade unions among women is the permanent low level of women's wages in manufacture. How far they tend to sink is shown by the presence in industry of the mass of unorganized workers now much discussed under the descriptive term of "three-dollar-a-week girls." If these girls live at home, their contribution to the family income does not cover their board and clothes after car-fare and lunches have been deducted. If they board, they destroy their health by insufficient food, or are forced to have recourse to charity or dishonor. Moreover, the disproportion between the effort of these unorganized girls and their pay serves as excuse for girls who give over all attempt to support themselves by honest work.

We are shamefully without adequate, trustworthy, official figures showing the earnings of women in industry, in or out of unions. There are, however, sidelights. Thus, in the cigar industry in New York City, of which women have long formed a large part, wages are so low that marriages are contracted with the understanding that the bride is to continue to work in the factory, and the wages of the wife are regularly needed. This fact it is, incidentally, that accounts for many of the women in the cigar-makers' union. They are wives of union men.

So, on a much larger scale, among the textile workers in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, man and wife are in the mills, when, indeed, the man can find work. The crowding of children into mills at the earliest moment allowed by the statute (and often illegally earlier) reduces in the long run the joint wage of parents, even where both are members of strong unions.

In the Southern States, where there are no unions, and children work in textile mills from the age of seven, eight, and nine years, their wage being often included in the lump sum paid to their mother, the smallness of the whole has served as an excuse for repeated cuts in wages forced upon women in the textile unions in Northern branches of the same corporations.

Side-light is afforded also by the Consumers' League. In New York City this organization asks merchants whose names it places upon its White List to comply with its standard. One requirement is that not less than six dollars a week shall be paid to sales-clerks over eighteen years of age who have had one year's experience. No requirement of the standard involves the League in need of more constant watchfulness. None keeps more merchants off the White List. These facts obviously suggest the presence in New York City of a body of young women over eighteen years of age, and of a year or more of experience, who earn less than this modest pay, such as inexperienced scrubwomen receive. The investigations of the League indicate that wages are about one dollar a week less for the same service ren-

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dered in the other cities in which there are White Lists (Philadelphia and Cleveland) than in New York.

The strike of the collar-starchers' union at Troy in 1905 brought to light the fact that, in one factory involved, wages had not increased in twenty-nine years. In this time the cost of living has admittedly increased.

The wage question alone, however, seems rarely to incite workingwomen to form trade unions in industries in which their work does not interlock with that of men. It is the combination of overwork and underpay that achieves this.

Any one who imagines that the wage question alone is at the root of the trade union movement among women loses sight of a moral consideration of the highest order. A point to which working people attach great importance is the treatment accorded to employees within the workroom, irrespective of the letter of the law. A corporation may be accurately law-abiding, yet its foreman may be a libertine or a petty tyrant, and it is the foreman who comes into contact with the working women and girls. He incarnates for them the corporation, which remains an abstraction otherwise. Ignorant young girls, at the age of folly, receiving three to six dollars a week, are at the mercy of the foreman and the forewoman under whose direction they work. If these are of bad character, the whole community suffers from their corrupting influence. Where, however, there is a strong, stable, old-established union, the foreman is apt to be of a better type than the man who deals exclusively with inexperienced, unorganized women and girls.

A fourth influence which stimulates the formation of unions among women is the demand, now chiefly confined to working people, for goods bearing the union label. This demand in the overall trade has for many years been strong and steady enough to make it commercially worth while for many manufacturers to use the label. This creates a demand for union employees, and the overall-makers' union has been, perhaps, the best of the unions composed of women. In the same way, the demand for cigars bearing the union label has created a permanent demand for union cigar-makers. This influence is strongest in trades which produce goods in common use among workingmen. It is, of course, weakest in the case of goods made for the use of men and women who have no interest in the trade union movement. The growth of trade unions among women is obviously least where the workers are very young and the product is sold to people indifferent or hostile to the unions.

These four influences affecting the trade union movement among women being recognized—hours of work, wages, treatment within the workroom, and the demand for the union label—what is the outlook? Before this question can be intelligently answered, another must first be considered. What do we mean by the word *women*, when we speak of women in the trades unions? Who constitute the material of which unions may be formed?

According to the Census of 1900 (Census, 1900, Occupations, cxix) there were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits women and girls in the following groups according to age:

16–20 years	367,041
21–24 years	231,157
Total 16–24 years	598,198
24–34 years	304,626

In other words, the girls in the eight-year period between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four years were well over half a million, and lacked only ten thousand of being twice as numerous as the women in the period next more mature, between twenty-four and thirty-four years. These figures, however, are more favorable than the whole situation throughout all the age periods, although the limits of this article do not permit more than a reference to the census table for students who care to look further into this aspect of the problem.

In Illinois a girl is a child under the statute until her sixteenth birthday. After that she is, from the industrial-legal point of view, a woman. When the Lady Cracker Packers' Union invited a resident from Hull House to address their mass-meeting, she was somewhat disconcerted to find the audience com-

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posed of little girls, nominally fourteen years old, fresh from the third, fourth, and fifth grades of the neighboring primary school. A similar invitation from the Paper Box Makers' Union in New York City revealed equally youthful Russian and Italian workers.

This youthful constituency is a shifting body little able to influence working hours and wages in the present, but open to education important for the future. The Lady Cracker Packers mean to escape from their unsatisfying occupation by marriage if possible, otherwise by trying different work requiring as little skill. Nowhere is to be seen among them the steadying influence exerted upon boys by the prospect of staying in the trade and the union. The very youth of the girls, however, leaves them open to instruction, and this is the vital point in favor of effort to educate them through union organization. No one would abandon the maintenance of schools and colleges because the children pass through and out of them. No one dreams of leaving the conduct of education to the pupils themselves. Here, then, is the task of the Women's Trade Union League in relation to the young workers, in striving to organize them for the ultimate social and industrial gain derivable from this form of education.

If, during their brief sojourn in the packing industry and among the Lady Cracker Packers, girls find from actual experience that their short working day and their hoped-for "raise" of wages depend, in part, upon the demand of other people for the union label on the cracker-box, then in future, when they buy crackers, that union label will seem to them to be of greater importance than price or quality.

This statement is made upon no mere theory, but upon observation of working people covering fourteen years. The children who were fourteen years old in 1892 are men and women now, heads of families. In no case known to the writer can a woman be found (within range of a large acquaintance in New York and Chicago) who is still following the employments which in 1892 were "unionized." The workers have changed. But the spirit remains.

This shifting of the wage-earners, while keeping the spirit of the movement, can perhaps be best illustrated by a brief sketch of a faithful worker.

Mrs. Alzina Parsons Stevens, born in Maine somewhat before the middle of the last century, began in early childhood to work in a cotton-mill. On her thirteenth birthday her right hand was caught in the machinery and a finger disabled for life. The quivering, terrified child was treated by a company surgeon, who brutally amputated a part of her finger without using any anæsthetic. Nor was any member of her family called, though they lived near by and a brother or sister would gladly have come to stay with her. More than forty years afterward, a little while before her death, Mrs. Stevens said to the writer: "If my interest in the cause of organized labor had ever flagged, if I had ever been in danger of growing discouraged, the sight of that poor finger and the memory of the horror of that day would have been spur enough." Of great native intelligence, the little mill-girl read everything that came in her way, and years afterward learned the printer's trade and proof-reading. She was among the first women admitted to the printers' union in Chicago. Later, as editorial writer for the Toledo Bee, she was a Knight of Labor, and while editor and part owner of the Vanguard founded a "Federal Union" composed of women from different occupations. As Assistant State Factory Inspector of Illinois, appointed in 1893, Mrs. Stevens served the cause of working women and children with head, heart, and undaunted spirit.

I have enumerated thus briefly the varied activities of Mrs. Stevens because they illustrate the difficulties which beset women in trade unions. She remained in the cotton-mill only long enough to learn the trade, to take part in a strike of the futile sort characteristic of unorganized girls and children, to suffer mutilation irreparable and lifelong. Then she worked her way into higher occupations.

As editorial writer she served the trade union movement with great versatility. Her pen was unfailing in the service of blacklisted employees, of pick-

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ets arrested for ignoring Federal injunctions (objects of her liveliest abhorrence), of strike leaders arrested on charges subsequently dismissed (but not until after the strike had been broken) for want of evidence. No one was ever more patient with ignorance, folly, and even dishonesty in inexperienced officials of the unions. For she never forgot that every union must find its recruits among whatever men, women, and children the employers bring into the industry, whether, like herself, Americans of Pilgrim ancestry, or negro strike-breakers imported under false representations to live in pens in stock-yards under protection of armed Pinkerton men. With equal zeal she labored with Russian Jewish garment workers from sweatshops and with little primary school girls doing their first work in biscuit bakeries.

All told, Mrs. Stevens's service to the unions from within their ranks while actually working at her trade formed, perhaps, a scant thousandth part of her whole service to them as editor, speaker, volunteer organizer, advocate of the union label, and interpreter to the public at large of their aims and methods.

The essential point is that, though women marry out of their trade, though they work up just as men do, though they commonly do not form stable unions (because the individual units of the unions do not stay in one trade), yet, once enlisted, they stay in the movement.

A wife who had been a member of a union before her marriage simply could not urge her husband to break a strike. Rather would she see her children hungry. For, as such a mother said to the writer during a strike of cloak-makers, "Now our living children are hungry, and Hymie is dead for want of the right food in his illness. But if we lose this strike wages will go lower yet; then thousands of children will be hungry and hundreds will die like Hymie. It is better we suffer longer now, and have it over, and win the strike."

The individual union composed of women alone is shifting and unstable, often dissolving and reconstituting itself. Unions of men and women are stronger because men stay far more than women. But the union movement does not lose the allegiance and active help of women who have been organized as girls.

Women are in industry to stay. Their numbers are increasing with bewildering rapidity. In the interest of the public health and morals it is indispensable that they be organized for the protection of their hours of work, their wages, the treatment accorded them in the workroom, and their influence upon the condition of industry as purchasers of the products.

Such are the considerations that have led to the formation of the Women's Trade Union League, whose officers and executive committee include Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Miss Mary E. McDowell, of the University of Chicago Settlement, Miss Lillian D. Wald, head of the Nurses' Settlement, and Miss Margaret Chanler, of the Women's Municipal League in New York, Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew, of Boston, and other philanthropists, each known and trusted in her own community. The work of Miss Gertrude Barnum as Secretary has already brought into the previously scattered, wavering, smaller unions a new steadiness and unity, and places at their command with each passing month an ever-increasing fund of useful experience.

The first effort of the League on a National scale is to get from Congress provision for a thorough investigation of the work of women, embracing not only wages and hours of work, but dangerous occupations, sanitary conditions and surroundings, the extent to which married women are working, and the comprehensive question, concerning both those who are in unions and those who are not, in what degree of health and comfort their wages enable women wage-workers to live. This augurs well for the future of the Women's Trade Union League, for it shows a statesmanlike appreciation of the scope of the work before it, and promises a substantial service in enlightening the whole people upon a subject of great and increasing importance.

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THE STORY OF AN INVISIBLE INSTITUTION

BY LILIAN FREEMAN CLARKE

ABOUT the middle of the last century a little girl was growing up in North Carolina among slaves and slaveholders. Her mother was a Southerner, but her father came from New England. He had there had a position as master of a high school, and afterward taught a school for young men in North Carolina.

Susan Dimock was accustomed to say in later life, "I am slow to take an idea; I was always slow: I was *eight years old* before I perceived the sin of slavery."

At twelve years old she told her father that she wished to study medicine and become a physician. As her family were then in comfortable circumstances, and living in a community where no women ever worked except from necessity, this was regarded as an eccentricity. But she had formed her purpose, and adhered to it. When about thirteen or fourteen, being at a watering-place, she was observed to be absorbed in a book, and continued sitting in the corner of the piazza for an hour or more. "What interesting story has Susie got?" asked one. An old physician, standing by, replied: "It is one of my medical books, which I have lent her, and one of the driest, too."

In 1861, at the time of the outbreak of the Civil War, she was fourteen years old; a silent, timid, reserved girl. One day she sat by herself reading, while in the same room several persons were discussing the situation and bitterly denouncing the Abolitionists of the North. In a pause of the discussion, a soft, clear voice was heard saying, "*I* am an Abolitionist." Some of those present turned angrily upon her, saying, "If that is the truth, you might at least be ashamed to own it!" She made no reply.

When eighteen years old she was living in New England and studying medicine. It proved that she had the peculiar and rare gifts which qualified her to be not only a physician, but a surgeon. Dr. Samuel Cabot, one of the highest authorities of that time, said that Susan Dimock would without doubt take the highest rank in her profession as a surgeon.

It was at this time that she formed the friendship that brought so much happiness to her short life—a friendship like that of David and Jonathan. Bessie Greene, this nearest and dearest friend, was as rare a character as Susan Dimock, but there was a strong contrast between them. One was timid, silent, and full of reserved force—a deep well full of inexhaustible treasures; the other, all sunshine and brilliancy—a sparkling, flashing fountain, scattering the jewels of her rare mind with generous profusion.

Susan Dimock studied three years in Boston (1865 to 1868), and four in Zurich and Vienna.

Dr. Funk, of Vienna, said of her:

"Among those who attended my lectures in the General Hospital of this city she was one of the most talented and industrious; and all of my colleagues have expressed themselves to me as of the same opinion. I still see her before me, this charming figure, as she stepped into the sick-room, full of modesty and propriety, and as though she were treading on holy ground; as she listened with rapt attention to my every word, as she examined the patient tenderly and with merciful hand, and yet thoroughly and completely; how she handled any and all instruments with skill, clearly comprehending all phases of a disease, accurately distinguishing the essential from the incidental (a rare gift in women); and then, after thorough examination, how she gave, though with due care, still a straightforward, unshaken, independent opinion. I may say, as to her classic repose and the beautiful balance of all her being and action, that it was to me a matter of constant, downright surprise."

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In 1872 she returned to Boston and accepted for three years the office of Resident Physician to the New England Hospital for Women.

It was about this time that my own memories of Susan Dimock begin. My father had known her somewhat earlier, as she had come to him for the letter of recommendation which the rules of the University of Zurich required. The letter was to be written by the pastor of the applicant, or some minister in good standing.

The impression I have retained of her is of a certain grave sweetness combined with reserved force; an earnestness and dignity which commanded respect and even caused an involuntary sense of awe. "She ruled her hospital like a little Napoleon," said one who knew her.

Her voice was extremely soft and sweet, her articulation clear, but she spoke slowly and in rather a low tone. I do not remember ever to have heard her voice raised or hurried. Perhaps for this reason, any expression of displeasure was very forcible and made a deep impression, although her tones were at such times only lower and slower than usual. Once, having occasion to reprove her students for some neglect or carelessness, she said to a friend after leaving the room: "Do you think I was hard on them? If you think so, I will go back and say so to them." Then, reflecting, "But they *must* learn—they *must* remember—a *doctor* has no right *ever* to forget!" One of her students said of her, "When I receive a reproof from Dr. Dimock, I lose all sense of *hurt* in admiration for her manner of giving it."

Outsiders were admitted to her lectures to nurses. I attended those; and a sentence which closed one lecture made a strong impression upon me. With earnestness which came from deep and strong feeling, she said: "Think that every patient is your sister. Imagine that you see your *own sister* in that bed before you; and treat her in every respect as you would like your own sister to be treated."

How to express that which is in truth inexpressible—the depth of her tenderness for the suffering, the weak, the sinful? What is most repelling to the ordinary mind, disease, mental weakness, moral degradation, seemed to win from her only love, pity, and sympathy. I recall her saying of a poor, half-insane patient who was found difficult to manage but was amenable to the influence of Dr. Dimock and of one other friend, "She knows that we *love* her!" But the tone and manner in which this was said cannot be transferred to paper.

One department of the Hospital was devoted to maternity patients, and the young physician became deeply interested in these patients; more especially in the young, unmarried mothers, who at this perilous crisis were in especial need of a friendly hand. There was no provision made for caring for them after their discharge, and she suffered much from her unsuccessful efforts to meet and provide for this want by interesting those who, she hoped, would share her feelings on this subject. But help was at hand.

During the winter of 1872–3 Miss Greene (the friend of Susan Dimock) spent some months at the New England Hospital receiving treatment for an accident to her knee which caused a temporary lameness. She soon became interested in the patients in the Maternity Department, and, instead of being afraid to attack a difficult problem and feeling excused by youth and inexperience from handling it, she determined courageously that something should be done.

Her earnestness and hopefulness drew to her side one or two friends (of whom I was one), and our work may be said to have really begun in the autumn of 1873, though planned the previous winter.

Susan Dimock's laborious and engrossing cares and duties as Resident Physician of the Hospital made it impossible for her to engage in this outside work for the patients, which needed, practically, the whole time, thought, and strength of those who made themselves the responsible workers. She assisted us, however, by her sympathy, her warm personal interest in every patient, and the degree of co-operation which was necessary in making our arrangements for each one before entering the Hospital and after leaving it.

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We called this charity "The Invisible Institution," because, although doing in fact the work of an institution, it was found better to aid each patient as a personal friend; not founding a "Home," and so avoiding the heavy expenses and cumbrous methods of institutional charity. All the work was done by two or three individuals; and each patient was assisted according to her especial needs.

A saying of Miss Greene's has stayed with me ever since those early days. In speaking of one or two of those who were hardest to help, she said, "Now, we must not set our hearts upon *reforming* them. We must be satisfied if we can pour a little oil into their wounds."

Before we had fixed upon some settled plan, we were once very much puzzled in regard to the destiny of a poor infant whose mother seemed unable to take care of him. "What can we do?" I asked Dr. Dimock; "no institution for infants will accept him; all are full; but when there is a vacancy, no one wants a boy, because boys are hard to have adopted; and, moreover, this child is so ugly, and has some peculiarity of the eyes that makes him very unattractive. *No one* wants the care of an ugly, sickly, cross baby!" "No," said she, and then her eyes filled with tears. "*I* should," she added.

It was true. Disease, insanity, even vice and sin, drew only love and pity from that deep, tender heart. She believed that the worst people could be reclaimed by love. "It is love," she said, "that gives a soul."

For two short, happy years we worked together. Then, in the spring of 1875, these two dear and noble women were called to higher work elsewhere, at the age of twenty-eight. And their work—this part of it—was left to us.

They were lost in the steamer Schiller, off the coast of the Scilly Isles, in May, 1875.

The body of Bessie Greene was never recovered. Susan Dimock's was found, floating on the water, with an expression of such peace and power on her face that it made a wonderful impression on all who saw it. Even the rough men who carried her to the shore were strongly influenced by it.

A letter from her friend Dr. Hoggan, who went at once to the spot, is worth quoting. He says:

"One officer, who stood by me while we gazed at the face of the dead, said: 'Look there! that woman died like a hero! I warrant ye she neither showed nor felt any fear of death! I would willingly meet death to-morrow if I could wear the same expression on my face afterwards.'

"The men who had showed so much feeling begged to lay flowers at her side.

"One officer declared to me that he had never in his life before experienced the power that the look on her face after death had upon him; he told me that had he met her in life he would have been ready, had she ordered it, to leave everything and obey her as a slave. Another told me that even in old age he would retain the vivid impress of her face and recognize her by it, even after death, should he meet her."

She did wonders in her life, and after her death her body prophesied.

When we left the island, with the case containing the body in our care, those who followed it insisted on putting it on board with their own hands; and one remarked to me, "There! we have placed her on board as gently as ever her mother laid her to her breast as a baby."

It would be impossible to describe the sense of loss that fell upon her patients and friends.

"Why, Miss C——," said one of them, "I can't imagine that woman any different in heaven from what she was here!"

After the death of Susan Dimock and Bessie Greene the work was carried on by a few friends of theirs; the chief responsibility resting on two—Miss Mary Parkman and the writer of this article.

If asked, How has this enterprise succeeded? we answer that, in the most important point of all, it has succeeded beyond our fondest hopes—that is, that a large number of those whom we assist turn out well, and but few disappoint us.

There are a Scylla and Charybdis in all charitable work, and especially in such work as ours.

On the one hand, if a woman receives sympathy and help in money, or money's

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equivalent, *because* she has done wrong, there is a certain justification in the charge sometimes brought against us, of "encouraging vice." On the other hand, if a young woman receives no aid at this time from those who would assist her to lead an upright life, she is in great danger of falling into the hands of those who for their own purposes would lead her further astray. When, therefore, we are asked, "Are you not encouraging vice? Is it not better to let a woman who has done wrong suffer the consequences of her fault?" we answer, "Much suffering is inevitable, but it is encouraging vice *not* to assist her." After some reflection, we decided on the following plan.

The primary object of our work should be:

To assist a mother to retain her infant in her personal charge, when for want of such temporary aid she might be forced to place it in an institution or to give it up for adoption.

Our aim should be, in all cases, to render such a mother able to support herself and her infant as soon as possible.

We did not include the depraved, since other methods and appliances are needed to assist them.

But we did include the young unmarried mothers; for in them we felt a special interest.

Here, then, are the three points which differentiate our work from other charities which have objects akin to ours:

1. The aiding a mother (temporarily disabled and in danger of being obliged to part from her infant) to keep the child in her own personal care, instead of placing it in an infant asylum, or giving it up for adoption.

2. The including both married and unmarried in our charity.

3. The working without an institution.

The experience of more than thirty years has confirmed us in the belief that these methods are wise, efficient, and practical.

By including an unmarried mother in our charity we avoid stigmatizing a well-meaning girl, anxious to retrieve her fault, as a member of a degraded class. She is assisted as a *mother*; not as a "fallen woman" or an "unfortunate" girl. Her fault is neither ignored nor condoned; but the emphasis is laid on something good; on her love for her child. As by our method there is no concealment, the wounded spirit has a chance to heal "by the first intention." No doubt institutions are necessary for some charities; but we feel that *this* work, *our* work, is better done by coming into personal relations, as individual friends, with those assisted.

If a woman is so weak that she must have constant watching, she is like a patient who requires hospital treatment and may need institutional care; but, just as some invalids are cared for by sunshine, fresh air, and exercise, so *our* patients need work, hope, a sense of responsibility, something to love and live for. It has a bad effect on some natures to shut them up in an institution. They learn self-control and steadiness by not receiving too much support.

The kernel of our work, the fundamental, central idea, is to keep mother and child together.

We have to fight quite a hard battle here. I am glad to say that there are now other charities which take approximately the same position. When we began, there were none; and there are still none which cover exactly the same ground that we do.

We cannot speak too strongly on this all-important point. As we have said, our charity does not include the depraved. But many of our young mothers are weak, childish, and shallow; the conscience and intellect are in embryo, and cannot be appealed to as a guiding force. There remains the one saving, purifying influence, the love of the mother for her child, which draws out and educates her whole higher nature. It is a wonderful thing to watch the effect of this, as we have done for more than thirty years and in hundreds of cases; and we cannot help feeling that we are working in harmony with a wise Providence by encouraging this instinct—in some mothers very strong from the first, in others either crushed or developed according to surroundings.

It is a dangerous thing to take an infant away from a mother of this type.

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It is saving her *reputation* at the expense of her *character*. If deprived of this powerful motive and influence toward an upright life, a daily safeguard from temptation, the empty, craving heart is like the house swept and garnished, ready for the evil spirits to come in and take possession.

THE IMMIGRANT IN CANADA[1]

WHEN Mr. H. R. Whates, an English journalist, was commissioned last year by the London Standard to visit Canada for the purpose of obtaining exact information respecting conditions there, with especial reference to the possibilities of the country as a home for the British emigrant, he adopted a sensible course of action. From Liverpool, with a shipload of emigrants, he traveled steerage to New Brunswick, and, in the rôle of a newcomer in quest of work, made his way by slow stages through Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and the Northwest Provinces to British Columbia. In New Brunswick he found work as a snow-shoveler; in Quebec he became one of a gang of lumbermen; and in the Northwest he joined the ranks of the "homesteaders." So far as possible he remained incognito, and in this way was enabled to learn much of which he would in all probability have remained ignorant had his mission been known. The result to the readers of the Standard was a series of vivid, searching, and informing letters, which, as since rewritten and published in book form, constitute a really important addition to the already voluminous literature on the recent economic and political development of Canada.

In some respects, to be sure, Mr. Whates's observations must be received with caution. The time of year in which he journeyed through the Dominion was precisely that in which nature is in her sternest mood, and as a not unnatural consequence he is inclined to exaggerate the rigors of the Canadian climate. He has failed, too, to do full justice to the characteristics of the native Canadian, particularly of the town Canadian, and his pictures of Canadian city life reflect little of the charm that annually draws so many tourists to Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, and Halifax. In his political comments, again, he reaches conclusions which wider intercourse with Canadian public men would have modified. But this is the sum total of necessary criticism, and it must be added that when Mr. Whates errs he does not err by reason of prejudice. On the contrary, he has performed his task with a singularly open mind, utterly free from the bias that so often renders valueless the observations of traveling Englishmen.

Of course the greater portion of his book is concerned with the immigration movement, and this cannot be too strongly commended to all contemplating settlement in the Dominion. At present, as is well known, thousands of people are making their way thither with but a vague idea of the conditions they will find, and in many cases without the physical hardiness necessary to overcome the difficulties of first establishment. What Canada at present needs above all else, as Mr. Whates makes evident, are tillers of the soil, men of muscle, sobriety, and self-reliance. For such there are room and opportunity in abundance. "The land is like a great sponge. It takes up every human being who offers himself for absorption." According to expert calculation, it appears, the culturable area in the practically unopened great Northwest reaches the enormous total of one hundred and seventy-one million acres, of which less than four millions are under crop. But successful occupation, as may be imagined, entails many hardships, and, in the case of those who would own their homes, calls for the possession of a certain amount of capital. A great deal that is extravagant has been written about the so-called free homesteads allotted by the Government on payment of a nominal entry fee and the fulfillment of sundry conditions, but Mr. Whates has little difficulty in showing that homesteading

[1] *Canada, the New Nation.* By H. R. Whates. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50, net.

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is a comparatively expensive undertaking, involving, indeed, a minimum outlay of $900.

On the other hand, as the author discovered from personal experience, no one need lack employment in Canada provided he be willing to accept manual labor. Thus a beginning may be had, and time and industry suffice to realize the landowning ideal which Mr. Whates holds up to the immigrant. For other than manual laborers, however—and for manual laborers who would lead a city life—he has many words of warning:

> The educated man who comes as a moneyless emigrant . . . is not of so much marketable value to the community as an able-bodied laborer. A man who has never done mental toil more severe than may be involved in the proper loading of a brick-cart will get a living, while a scholar will starve—unless he drops his scholarship and places his muscles rather than his brains on the market. Montreal is the seat of the famous McGill University. The existence of that place of learning should alone show that Canada does not want educated men unless they have means. She breeds her own. Still less does she want gentlemen—in the conventional social sense of the word—though she will put up with them if they will be content to begin life anew as laborers. Nor does she want clerks, commercial travelers, shopmen, and such like soft-handed people.

Sectionally, Mr. Whates waxes most enthusiastic over the possibilities of British Columbia, which he believes has room for and is capable of supporting millions of inhabitants. But here he finds one grievous drawback in the presence of the Chinaman and the Jap, at whose doors he lays the responsibility for the province's present scanty white population. The label "undesirable" is likewise applied to other Old World immigrants, not from Asia, but from Europe, the opinion being frankly expressed that "the Dominion is in too great a hurry to fill up her vacant territory with fifth-rate human material." In point of "desirability" it is pleasant to record Mr. Whates's conviction that the American is the best immigrant that Canada can secure. "He has all the virtues of the people of every other nationality, and few of their vices."

The concluding chapters are given over to an attempt to analyze Canadian political thought and to forecast the political future of the country. To be brief, they emphasize the growing spirit of independence, the ideal of nationhood, and the determination to attain an even greater measure of self-government than is now enjoyed. Mr. Whates does not suggest that Canada has any definite intention of cutting loose from the mother country, but he insists that it will be found impossible to maintain the present relations in their entirety, and hints that ultimately Canada's fealty will be no more than nominal. To those who believe that the ties between Great Britain and her colonies might be strengthened by the formation of an Imperial Parliament in which the colonies shall have adequate representation, he returns the reply that in Canada, at any rate, he found no desire for representation in such a House. And he sees no hope for the consummation of an Imperial Zollverein, in view of the avowed resolution of Canada to abate not one tittle of her fiscal freedom. Rather, he would propose, as the solution of the grave problem of maintaining the British Empire intact, the novel plan of granting Canada the treaty-making power she so ardently desires, extending this power to the other self-governing colonies, and then arranging formal alliances similar to that in existence between Great Britain and Japan.

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Comment on Current Books

The American Nation

The dominant theme in the latest volume of the "American Nation" serial history is the territorial expansion of the United States during the decade 1841-1850, the period of the acquisition of Oregon, Texas, and California, and a period peculiarly prolific in thorny historical problems. Of these perhaps the most difficult are the questions connected with the origins and nature of the Mexican War, concerning which Professor Garrison, who is Professor of History in the University of Texas, has had exceptional opportunities for study. His conclusions, based on independent research frequently among documents not commonly available to the historian, differ materially from the conclusions of the many writers who regard the war as distinctly a war of spoliation, waged in defiance of the dictates of national conscience and international law. Novelty, too, is seen in his treatment of the acquisition of Texas, and in his discussion of the influence of slavery on the expansion movement. Here, again, his views will scarcely command universal assent, but even those most strongly inclined to dissent will recognize that he has adduced many facts tending to necessitate a rigid re-scrutiny of all the evidence. Professor Garrison's contribution, in fine, is marked by daring and originality, and, it is pleasant to be able to add, by scholarship. It is not, however, cast in the most attractive form, being monographic rather than unitary in treatment, and being of the scientific rather than the artistic school of historical writing. (The American Nation. Vol. XVII. Westward Expansion. By George Pierce Garrison, Ph.D. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2, net.)

Caybigan

Life in the Philippines, with its humorous incongruities, its dramatic complications, is full of excellent material, and the author of "Caybigan" has made good use of it in the present group of stories. They vary greatly as to merit, but they are all marked by crispness and vitality, and they are extremely tender where the writer trusts to his own vein—instead of trying to follow the method of Kipling, which is inimitable. The weaker stories are too complex, and the tragedy is sometimes forced. In the best of the stories—"The Coming of the Maestra," "The Confluence," and the sketch of Isidro, the little native boy—there is a beautiful quality of sentiment. (Caybigan. By James Hopper. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Chunda

This "story of the Navajos" relates the career of an Indian girl and her lover, who broke away from their barbaric tribe to learn for its redemption the principles and arts of civilization. Years afterward they emerge from their training, noble specimens of Christian manhood and womanhood, and go back to their native mountains, reinforced by ample resources supplied by benevolent friends, to labor together for the civilization and Christianization of their people. Not, however, without struggle and suffering do they effect their escape at the outset, or achieve their purpose at their return. Dramatic and tragic interest is thus added to the narrative, which breathes a deeply religious spirit throughout with an evident purpose of stimulating a missionary interest. It is an excellent book for Sunday-school libraries. All that it seems to lack is a prefatory note to indicate how far it is fiction and how far it is fact. (Chunda: A Story of the Navajos. By Horatio Oliver Ladd. Eaton & Mains, New York. $1.25.)

The Documentary History of Reconstruction

Professor Walter Fleming's "Documentary History of Reconstruction" is, as its title would indicate, a work less for the historical reader than for the historical student, who should welcome it as possessing the double value of lightening his labors in a vast field of research and of assisting him to obtain a clear and vivid idea of post-bellum conditions and policies as they affected and affect the Southern States. Professor Fleming has obviously been indefatigable in investigation, culling his material from the most varied sources—memoirs, pamphlets, letters, state papers, etc. Necessarily, he has been obliged to leave unused a large part of the documents at his disposal—five-sixths, he tells us—and has been well advised in developing chiefly those most difficult of access. His opening quotations illustrate the social and economic disorder that existed in the South immediately after the war; he then exhibits the principal plans, theories, and problems of Reconstruction; after this, President Johnson's scheme of reorganization is taken up in detail; next follow the so-called "Black Laws" enacted by the Southern State governments in 1865 and

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1866; the work of the Freedmen's Bureau is then dealt with; and, finally, a documentary survey is made of the way in which Congress went to work to restore the Southern States to the Union. The importance of Professor Fleming's compilation may be made sufficiently evident by the statement that the sources utilized by him include many hitherto unpublished and unavailable documents, notably extracts from the private papers of President Johnson. Another volume is to follow, illustrating the working out of the Congressional plan of Reconstruction and the adjustments made later. (Documentary History of Reconstruction. By Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland. Vol. I. $5.)

The Evolution of Religions

Many learned theologians, imbued with both the scientific and the philosophic spirit, are now toiling at the task of recasting the mediæval into modern forms of Christian doctrine under the fresh light given by the study of Comparative Religion. The present volume, not of that sort, is by a good Unitarian layman, who is prone to claim rather too much for his branch of the Church. Of course it is easy for him to pile discredit on the old orthodoxy based on the fiction of a humanity ruined by Adam. Easy also to discredit Biblical legends once taken to be facts: one-fourth of the volume is thus occupied. But it is too much like flogging a dead horse to devote pages to one of many cases of Hebrew numerals multiplied by a copyist's error, analogous in effect to the misplacing of a decimal point. But this may be pardoned to one who accepts the Bible notwithstanding as "the greatest and best Book of earth." It is easy also to excuse a layman, especially one who refers to the Sermon on the Mount as the "great sermon on Mount Olivet," for thinking that "Unitarianism" was the general belief until A.D. 325, when "the Trinity" was imported from "Hindu and Egyptian mythologies" by Athanasius. Nevertheless, although its author, under his limitations as a layman in the subjects of his criticism, takes himself rather too seriously, the book is written with a sincere interest for a devoutly spiritual religion, and for this is commendable. (The Evolution of Religions. By Everard Bierer. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2, net.)

The First Forty Years of Washington Society

Soon after Washington became the seat of government, Samuel Harrison Smith, a Philadelphia editor, moved with his wife to the new capital and established there the first National newspaper printed in this country. That was in 1800, and the two remained in Washington the rest of their lives, so that the present volume—made up almost entirely of Mrs. Smith's letters to friends and relatives—covers a most interesting period. The reader will not be surprised to learn that Mrs. Smith was an occasional contributor to Godey's Lady's Book, and while he will find the correspondence entertaining because of the events and personalities reflected, he will be mildly amused at a certain "elegance" of style (considered so desirable in the first half of the nineteenth century). The official society of those days was so simple and informal as to admit of real friendships, and the Smiths were intimate with such men as Jefferson, Madison, Calhoun, and Clay. It is specially interesting to note the social position of the President. There was then in the atmosphere of Washington a vestige of the idealism and pure spirit of democracy which had gone into the shaping of the government—a government fresh from the imagination, one that had not quite hardened into a fact and aligned itself with history. But as early as 1829 Madame Pichon, writing from Paris, gives the following warning: "Your country worries me; it is becoming spoiled. . . . You are spreading out; the taste of high society and rank is being formed; take care!" An embodiment of the pure spirit of democracy was Jefferson, and the book is fairly illuminated with his presence. In speaking of him Mrs. Smith loses the touch of literary affectation: he was her idol, and her impressions of his personality are expressed with reverent sincerity. (The First Forty Years of Washington Society. Portrayed by the Family Letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith [Margaret Bayard]. Edited by Gaillard Hunt. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.)

George Eliot's Stories

It will be remembered that it was "Scenes of Clerical Life" that brought fame and public appreciation to George Eliot. It is delightful now to have these tales with drawings by Mr. Hugh Thomson, for no other living illustrator possesses in equal degree the power of reproducing the atmosphere and character of old-time scenes and people. Those who have rejoiced in his pictures accompanying "Cranford" and many other books will find those in the present volume in no manner inferior. Many of them are printed in color, but with discretion and taste—which cannot truly be said of much of the book color-printing of the season. (Scenes of Clerical Life. By George Eliot. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

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Good City Government

The Outlook does not, as a rule, review published proceedings of conferences, but it desires to call special attention to the volume just issued by the National Municipal League, containing an account of the Atlantic City Conference of this year. The book is not only the largest the League has ever issued, but it is by far the most valuable in its contents. It contains full reports of valuable addresses made by the Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Richard H. Dana, Horace E. Deming, and many other men, each of whom stands for some special aspect of civic activity. The volume is important in its contents and substance, and it cannot fail to be valuable also as a reference work for all who take any interest whatever in such subjects as municipal ownership, Civil Service Reform, refinement and beauty in their public aspects, the improvement of towns and cities, and the study of city government. (Good City Government. National Municipal League, Philadelphia.)

Great Fortunes

This booklet of eighty-five pages has a great deal more of good sense and valuable practical suggestion than many volumes much larger and more pretentious. It deals with the two aspects of a great ethical question of our day—the winning and the using of great fortunes. It is well balanced in its judgments and ethically high in its ideals, and furnishes an excellent model for the study of preachers and editors, both of whom are liable to destroy their power by their one-sidedness. (Great Fortunes: The Winning; the Using. By J. W. Jenks, Ph.D., LL.D. McClure, Phillips & Co.)

An Institutional Church

How did you do it? How do you make it go? Such inquiries by thousands, prompted by the success of Dr. Rainsford in substituting for a moribund Sunday congregation an institutional church in vigorous and effective life seven days in every week, constitute a valid reason for this book, embodying answers in complete detail concerning the material plant, its management, and its religious and other ministrations to men, women, and children. To this elaborate "account of the operation of St. George's Parish in the city of New York" are prefixed "introductions and comments" by President Roosevelt, Bishop Potter, and Dr. Rainsford himself. Many a downtown church that has abandoned its field and joined the long procession northward will be prompted by this exhibition of what has been done to think of what might have been, could only the proper architect of success have been, as in this case, sought and found by them. (The Administration of an Institutional Church. By George Hodges and John Reichert. Harper & Brothers, New York. $3, net.)

The Interpretation of Nature

Is there an intelligent purpose behind the phenomena of nature? Many naturalists answer *no*. In this volume an eminent British naturalist, who gave a course of lectures on its subject at the Lowell Institute in Boston in 1904, controverts that negative. He of course accepts the mechanical scheme of naturalism as defining the conditions of evolution. But this raises the question, Why are these conditions what they are?—a question unanswerable by physical science. There must be some sort of a causal agency behind them. It is irrational to rest in a merely mechanical naturalism. Naturalism has its ideal side also, purposive as well as determinate. In human life determinate sequence of consequent from antecedent is the expression of purpose. It cannot be otherwise in nature. As it is the unity of purpose which gives meaning to human life, nothing but such unity can give meaning to nature, and make the universe rational. The cardinal contention of the whole argument is that our knowledge of the realities of existence is reached by a process of ideal construction. (The Interpretation of Nature. By C. Lloyd Morgan, LL.D., F.R.S. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.20, net.)

In the Netherlands

Miss Waller, in her extremely popular story "The Wood Carver of 'Lympus," proved her power to hold the attention. Here she gives us an attractive book which in graphic and readable qualities is decidedly above the average of such works. She finds in the quaint corners and manners of Holland all sorts of subjects for pleasant description and cheerful story-telling. Far more than is the case with most travelers, this writer enters into the life of the Dutch people, so that the book is a welcome addition to that class of literature about Holland of which the book by De Amicis is perhaps the best example. The illustrations are capitally drawn by Mr. A. Montferrand from famous and typical etchings and paintings. (Through the Gates of the Netherlands. By Mary E. Waller. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $3, net.)

The Land of Enchantment

The wonders of the great American Southwest are here presented both by description and through photographic illustration. The author has gone over well-known

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ground quite thoroughly, and has discovered much that is new and picturesque. She talks of Pike's Peak, the Colorado streams and mountains, the surprises of New Mexico, the history of Santa Fé, and the wonders of Arizona and Lower California, with discrimination, intelligence, and the charm of imagination. (The Land of Enchantment: From Pike's Peak to the Pacific. By Lilian Whiting. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $2.50, net.)

The Loves of the Lady Arabella This old-fashioned romance, with its familiar types and conventional action, is charming because of its literary style and generally artistic workmanship. Mr. Underwood's illustrations are a little stiff, and crude in color. (The Loves of the Lady Arabella. By Molly Elliot Seawell. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.)

McDonald of Oregon There is so much vitality in the material upon which this book is based, and the writer expresses herself with such enthusiasm, that the volume holds the interest in spite of the fact that it is too loosely knit for a historical novel, and lacks the unity of a good biography. It deals first with the occupation of Oregon by American settlers, and later with McDonald's expedition to Japan, undertaken in a spirit of adventure, and resulting in the Perry expedition, of such international consequence. (McDonald of Oregon. By Eva Emery Dye. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.50.)

The Man of Property A rather unusually thoughtful novel of English social life, which deals in a large, intelligent way with the development of character, the sordidness of wealth without graciousness, and the narrowness of upper middle-class London society a generation or so ago. In a quiet way, too, it has a sly humor, and its surface cynicism really girds at what is base and snobbish only to bring out into the clear light generosity and high ideals. Mr. Galsworthy wrote "The Island Pharisees." Here he gives us other social pharisees pictured trenchantly and unsparingly. Altogether a novel well worth the reading. (The Man of Property. By John Galsworthy. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

The Mohammedan World Last April a five days' conference was held at Cairo by missionaries from many Mohammedan countries—the first general conference in the interest of that wide field. Nineteen papers there read and discussed present the now existing condition of that field. They correct some widely current misinformation. They exhibit the actual state of things both for better and for worse, as seen by eye-witnesses long conversant with the facts. They report both the difficulties in the way of betterment and the encouraging successes here and there achieved. For an understanding merely of the problems in world-politics which grow out of Mohammedanism these papers are valuable, much more for those which appeal to humanitarian and Christian sympathy. They effectually dissipate the illusion that Mohammedanism is, on the whole, a beneficent religion, suited to the character of its adherents. Statistics, maps, and illustrations enrich the volume. (The Mohammedan World of To-Day. Edited by S. M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S., E. M. Wherry, D.D., James L. Barton, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.50, net.)

Paul There is just a tinge here of that diabolism toward which Mr. Benson seems to have a bent. It is seen in the malignant and superhumanly clever creature who, himself all but a cripple, thrives in a ghoulish sort of way on the good health and spirits of others. This distressful person pervades the book. His tragic taking off by an automobile steered by an enemy, who is never quite sure whether or not the killing was intentional, gives an opportunity for some dexterous juggling with questions of conscience, remorse, and love. Mr. Benson always makes his books readable, and this is no exception. (Paul. By E. F. Benson. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $1.50.)

Prayers of the Bible The Biblical specimens of prayer collected in this volume comprise hardly one-fourth of it. The rest of it is devoted to the general subjects of Biblical prayer and of modern prayer, with a collection of Biblical prayers for modern use. By a chronological arrangement the development of Biblical prayer is made traceable. The volume is made serviceable for practical uses by a good index. (The Prayers of the Bible. By John Edgar McFadyen, M.A. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. $1.75.)

Random Rhymes Mr. Wallace Irwin is one of the cleverest of our present-day writers of humorous verse on timely subjects. This volume contains a considerable number of such skits in rhyme—and naturally they are unequal in quality. In the best, however, we find not only remarkable deftness in the use of rhyme and meter, but much good-natured and shrewd comment in verse on questions and incidents of recent news interest. Mr. Irwin is really a sort of poetic Dooley. (Random Rhymes

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and Odd Numbers. By Wallace Irwin. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

Religion of All Good Men

These "studies in Christian ethics," one chapter of which gives this volume its attractive but quickly disappointing title, are not such as to call for serious consideration. As specimens of the illusions in which intelligent men are sometimes enmeshed, one notes here that "thinking persons" are widely dissatisfied with the moral ideals of Christianity; that "religion only begins where duty ends;" that "the God of Christianity began in romance, but he has ended in pedantry and falsehood;" that any universal extension of the gospel of love, as set forth by Jesus, is impossible; that immortality cannot fairly be said to be probable. That there are "thinking persons" of whom the author is a representative is doubtless true. In accounting for the fact of such thinking the question ought to be faced, How far are the Church and its teachers responsible for such a deplorable condition? (The Religion of All Good Men. By H. W. Garrod. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1.20, net.)

Rosemary in Search of a Father

An agreeable short story, prettily bound and printed. (Rosemary in Search of a Father. By C. N. and A. M. Williamson. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1.50, net.)

Side-Lights on Astronomy

Those familiar with Professor Simon Newcomb's work as an astronomer and as a writer on astronomical subjects hardly need be told that this collection of miscellaneous essays and addresses is characterized by a cautious conservatism, and, as a rule, by an ease and simplicity of language that makes the various topics discussed intelligible to the veriest tyro. The collection embraces a wide range of themes, from the eternal problem of the structure and extent of the universe to the making and using of a telescope, and in addition it includes some delightful chapters on topics only indirectly related to astronomy, topics of a semi-speculative and autobiographical as well as expository character. We would commend the volume to all desirous of obtaining a trustworthy idea of the present state of astronomical knowledge and of the problems which still baffle the astronomer. (Side-Lights on Astronomy. By Simon Newcomb, LL.D. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2, net.)

Sir George Williams

The Young Men's Christian Association, like some other great movements, illustrates in its world-wide spread and power what may be achieved by a humble individual unselfishly devoted to the supply of some neglected but general need. The story of such a one is related here—the poor London clerk in whose bedroom was initiated the work whose growth since 1844 illustrates Jesus' parable of the tiny mustard-seed that became a tree. The history of the Association blends in the narrative with Mr. Williams's biography. Many an American traveler has been a purchaser in the dry-goods establishment of Hitchcock, Williams & Company, in St. Paul's Churchyard, without knowing what a man Mr. Williams was. To such this volume will reveal how near they have been to one of God's noblemen, the humane and religious merchant who glorified his work by making it tributary to beneficence as his divine vocation. The volume, finely illustrated, is a contribution to the literature of power. (The Life of Sir George Williams. By J. E. Hodder Williams. A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York. $1.25, net.)

When Love Speaks

So far as we know, this is the first novel to use the war against graft as fiction-material pure and simple. We have had rather a surfeit of novels which were tracts for civic virtue disguised in more or less palatable story-form. Mr. Payne's intention is quite different. He shows us a big-hearted, honest young fellow who has been the personal friend of men who play the game of politics for the sake of the game, who has been treated generously and affectionately by some of them, and who distinguishes in his own mind between those who are out for plunder and those who are in politics chiefly for the excitement. He is won over to the support of civic reform and to the prosecution of grafters partly because he sees the justice of these things and partly because he loves and marries the sister of an earnest and enthusiastic but perhaps a trifle priggish prosecuting attorney. But at the critical day and hour, when he has pledged himself to appear and give decisive evidence against a gang of political thieves, he is called away by the danger of a friend whom he loves. He prefers personal honor to his civic duty; his wife renounces him, yet in the end, "when love speaks," sees that he had no choice and is reconciled. The tale is told with directness and strength. The incidents are dramatically handled, and throughout Mr. Payne writes with vigor and is in close touch with human nature. Few books of the year hold the attention more closely. (When Love Speaks. By Will Payne. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

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Letters to The Outlook

INEFFECTIVE RAILROAD SIGNALS

It is gratifying to note the energy which is being displayed by some of the great railway companies in equipping their lines with automatic block signals in response to the urgent popular demand for improved safety appliances. It is to be regretted, however, that so little disposition is shown to adopt the automatic stop in connection with the visual signal.

Few people stop to consider how ineffective the visual signal really is. It is a relic of times when trains were few and light and speeds were low. It is an excellent adjunct to a more effective appliance, but, when used alone, is more suitable for a mule tramway than for a modern railway. Its fundamental principle is all wrong. The modern visual signal is an elaborate and costly mechanical contrivance, operated either automatically or by interlocking apparatus, so that it is almost impossible for a wrong signal to be given. It is the product of extensive experiment, and no pains have been spared to make it as reliable in its operation as possible. The ultimate end and aim of all this effort is to communicate to the engineman the information that he is expected to stop. Here the matter ends, and the engineman is left to his own devices. The real point of the problem is entirely missed. It does not seem to occur to any one that *the real object is not to communicate with the engineman, but to stop the train.*

The use of the automatic stop in connection with the visual signal would provide a positive safeguard, and is the only way in which reasonable security against mismanagement can be obtained. It is useless to argue that such devices cannot be made reliable and effective. It is true that they have not yet reached a high state of development, but this is only because the railways have shown no disposition to use them. To maintain that travel is reasonably safe without the automatic stop is to assume human control to be infallible. It might be said with equal reason that a steam boiler, provided with a steam gauge and a competent man to attend it, needs no safety-valve. The man would, of course, note any dangerous increase of pressure, and could be depended upon to open a hand-valve to relieve it. Besides, it might sometimes be convenient to carry a pressure a little higher than the safe limit, in which case there would be obvious advantages in leaving the control to the discretion of the attendant. Still, there would be many unreasonable people who would not be willing to live over such a boiler. They would not be satisfied to rely on the steam gauge as a visual signal to warn the attendant when to act, but would insist upon having an automatic safety appliance which would act for him should he fail. Yet these same people feel perfectly safe when riding on a railway train possessing potential energies for destruction fully equal to those of the boiler, and with no safeguard but the engineman between them and disaster. Truly it is marvelous what habit and custom will do.

Let us have the best visual signal that human ingenuity can devise, but let us also have the automatic stop, which will serve us when the signal is unheeded.

WILLARD P. GERRISH.
Harvard College Observatory,
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

THE PROFITS OF STANDARD OIL

The Outlook for November 24 states, in reference to Standard Oil dividends, that "on a total valuation of a little less than $70,000,000, the Standard in thirteen years (1882–1895, inclusive) paid over $500,000,000 in dividends." This is so serious a misstatement that I know you will wish to correct it when told of the facts. These dividends are matter of public record. The total for the years named was $126,976,774, not $500,000,000. The rates were as follows: 1882, 5¼ per cent.; 1883, 6 per cent.; 1884, 6 per cent.; 1885, 10½ per cent.; 1886, 11 per cent.; 1887, 10 per cent.; 1888, 10 per cent.; 1889, 11½ per cent.; 1890, 12 per cent.; 1891, 12 per cent.; 1892, 12 per cent.; 1893, 12 per cent.; 1894, 12 per cent.; 1895, 17 per cent. During these years the Standard used a considerable part of its earnings for extending its pipe lines, purchasing oil properties and making other oil investments, carrying out its policy of conserving and expanding the industry, and these investments have greatly increased in value. When the $70,000,000 capitalization referred to above was established, the business was comparatively provincial, with property in only a few States. The business has grown to be colossal, with property in every quarter of the globe. A part of each year's earnings has been used to build up this investment, until it is now many times the figure named.

H. C. FOLGER, JR.
26 Broadway, New York.

[The editorial paragraph here referred to showed on its face that the statement made

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was derived from a summary of the petition of the United States in the Standard Oil case as given out by the Attorney-General. It was perfectly clear that The Outlook was merely giving its readers the statement of Mr. Moody as summarized in the public press, and it now appears that in that summary the date 1895 was, in the journal from which we quoted, erroneously used for 1905. We now have the full text of the petition before us, and quote below verbatim the passage in question:

PROFITS OF STANDARD OIL TRUST AND COMPANY

Your petitioner alleges that by reason of the various means herein set forth in detail, among others, the said individual defendants, by and through the said unlawful Standard Oil Trust, and the Standard Oil Company after 1899, have monopolized the business of purchasing, transporting, refining, shipping, and selling petroleum and the products thereof in and among the various States and Territories of the United States, the District of Columbia, and with foreign nations, and that by reason of such monopoly the said Standard Oil Trust and the Standard Oil Company have made enormous and unreasonable profits in said business, to wit, more than $700,000,000 during the period from January 1, 1882, to December 31, 1905, inclusive.

That the actual value of the property and stocks acquired and controlled by the said trustees at the time of the organization of the said Standard Oil Trust on January 2, 1882, was only $55,710,698.24, although the amount of trust certificates issued at that time was $70,000,000; that between said time and the present time the said Standard Oil Trust and the said Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, as its successor, have acquired additional property by the issue of trust certificates and of shares of stock of the said Standard Oil Company to the value only of $13,310,100, the same being the total amount of trust certificates and of shares of stock issued during said time in exchange for property or cash; so that the total value of the property of the said Standard Oil Trust and Standard Oil Company, for which trust certificates and shares of the stock of said company were issued, was, at the time of acquisition, only $69,020,798.24; that during the said period from January 1, 1882, to December 31, 1905, inclusive, the said Standard Oil Trust and the Standard Oil Company have declared and paid to the trust-certificate holders and shareholders cash dividends to the aggregate amount of $512,940,084.50, besides another dividend in trust certificates issued to the trust-certificate holders in 1887 and amounting to $15,028,200; that the profits of the said Standard Oil Trust and Standard Oil Company have, in each and every year and in the aggregate, greatly exceeded in amount the said dividends; that your petitioner is unable to state the exact amount of the profits of the said Standard Oil Trust and Standard Oil Company, but alleges that during the period from January 1, 1882, to December 31, 1896, inclusive, the total profits or net earnings of the said Standard Oil Trust were $244,026,485.64, while the dividends during the said period were $164,490,460.50, so that the profits during said period exceeded the dividends by $79,536,025.14; and your petitioner alleges, on information and belief, that since the year 1896 and up to the present time the profits of the said Standard Oil Trust and Standard Oil Company in excess of the dividends paid have been enormous, but the precise amount your petitioner is unable to state; that out of the additional profits, over and above the dividends, obtained by the said Standard Oil Trust and Standard Oil Company the said trust and company have constructed and acquired properties and interests in properties of enormous aggregate value, so that at present the properties owned and controlled by the said Standard Oil Company exceed in value $200,000,000.

PEDAGOGIC ALCHEMY

Julián Ribera has an article in the last issue of the new Spanish quarterly, Cultura Española, which, if it receives the attention it deserves, must set people thinking. The article is entitled "Condiciones de lo pedagógico," and the "condiciones," as stated by the author, are so numerous as practically to dispense with "lo pedagógico." Still, iconoclast and utilitarian as he is, Julián Ribera is a prophet who should be listened to, if not implicitly obeyed.

Without attempting a systematic discussion of the problems involved, I should like to suggest almost at random a few of the problems which this remarkable article states or suggests. Is pedagogy an art with a science at its foundation, or is it only a species of opportunism which should merely stand by and occasionally smooth out a difficulty, humbly conscious of the fact that all the motive force must come from the learner? In other words, can the teacher think for the pupil, or must the pupil do his own thinking? Is not the conventional relation of pupil and teacher a palpably artificial one, an irksome ligament which wears fearfully on both? Why, if this is not true, do so many children who love to learn hate school? and why are most teachers, especially most women teachers, sick, crabbed, and cynical? Has the modern method of substituting a ghastly imitation of play for work, and of feeding the pupil predigested knowledge, helped matters much? Why, then, did a rebellious kindergarten pupil recently announce that she wanted to get into the first grade at once, because she was so tired of having to play all the time, and wanted to learn something? Why should children learn to count, read, and write before they can understand the necessity and object of such processes, and years before they have any practical use for them? Is not building bridges the only way of learning how to build bridges, and is not dealing with people the only way of learning how to influence people? Why should a man who knows how to do things himself waste his time telling other people how to do them, especially as it is futile to tell another person how to do things? How much influence would Napoleon have wielded if he had been a professor of military tactics instead of a practical strategist? Finally, would it not be better for the world if there were less teaching and more learning?

R. T. HOUSE.
Southwestern State Normal School,
Weatherford, Oklahoma.

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"It is difficult to find words to express our pleasure and satisfaction with The Angle Lamp," writes Mr. P. B. Leavenworth, Grand Rapids, Minn. "It is certainly the greatest illuminator ever made. Our neighbors thought we must have a gas plant, but we consider our lamp is worth all the gas or gasoline lights ever made. Such a clear, steady, brilliant and beautiful light, and so easy to care for!"

THE ANGLE LAMP

is the *new* method of burning common kerosene oil, and is as different from the ordinary lamps in results as it is in appearance. It makes common kerosene the best, the cheapest and most satisfactory of all lighting methods. Safer and more reliable than gasoline or acetylene, yet as convenient to operate as gas or electricity.

The Angle Lamp is lighted and extinguished like gas. May be turned high or low without odor. No smoke, no danger. Filled while lighted and without moving. Requires filling but once or twice a week. It floods a room with its beautiful, soft, mellow light that has no equal. WRITE FOR OUR CATALOG "31" and our proposition for a

30 DAYS' FREE TRIAL

Write for our Catalog "31" listing 32 varieties of the Angle Lamp from $1.80 up, now—before you turn this leaf—for it gives you the benefit of our ten years' experience with *all* lighting methods.

THE ANGLE MFG. CO., 78-80 Murray St., New York

A Kansas City physician writes: "I desire to state that I have used **Tartarlithine** *in my own case, and results obtained, under minute observation during administration, thus far have been exceedingly favorable."*

Another writes: "The **Tartarlithine** *tablets are excellent, and I am more than pleased with their good results in Gouty and Rheumatic troubles."*

TARTARLITHINE

is not only the best remedy for Rheumatism, but is the only remedy that acts quickly, yet does not upset the stomach nor affect the heart's action. It is pleasant to take.

RHEUMATISM

Tartarlithine rarely fails because it supplies the blood with the necessary substances to dissolve and remove the poison of Rheumatism—uric acid. We want every sufferer to try it, and will send a sample package with our booklet on the cure of rheumatism free to every applicant.

FREE SAMPLE and our booklet on the CURE of RHEUMATISM sent free on request.

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(Sole agents for the Tartarlithine Co.)

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Easily Adjusted.
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Perspiration Proof.
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The last month of the year is passing. About $4,200 are needed this month if receipts are to equal 1905. Our needs are greater for we are caring for a larger number. Increase your own joy in this Christmas season by adding to the joy of these worthy but infirm veterans of the Gospel ministry. Send your check this month, and if possible before Christmas. Address remittances or for information of this beautiful and tender Christian service, the Secretary, Rev. Wm. A. Rice, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

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Send for FREE catalogue and list of over 4,000 churches using our cups.
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NO MEDICINE

But Change of Food Gave Final Relief

Most diseases start in the alimentary canal—stomach and bowels.

A great deal of our stomach and bowel troubles come from eating too much starchy and greasy food.

The stomach does not digest any of the starchy food we eat—white bread, pastry, potatoes, oats, etc.—these things are digested in the small intestines, and if we eat too much, as most of us do, the organs that should digest this kind of food are overcome by excess of work, so that fermentation, indigestion, and a long train of ails result.

Too much fat also is hard to digest, and this is changed into acids, sour stomach, belching gas, and a bloated, heavy feeling. In these conditions a change from indigestible foods to Grape-Nuts will work wonders in not only relieving the distress but in building up a strong digestion, clear brain, and steady nerves. A Wash. woman writes:

"About five years ago I suffered with bad stomach—dyspepsia, indigestion, constipation—caused, I know now, from eating starchy and greasy food.

"I doctored for two years without any benefit. The doctor told me there was no cure for me. I could not eat anything without suffering severe pain in my back and sides, and I became discouraged.

"A friend recommended Grape-Nuts and I began to use it. In less than two weeks I began to feel better and inside of two months I was a well woman and have been ever since.

"I can eat anything I wish with pleasure. We eat Grape-Nuts and cream for breakfast and are very fond of it."

Name given by Postum Co., Battle Creek, Mich. Read the little book, "The Road to Wellville," in pkgs. "There's a reason."

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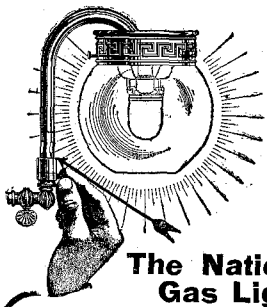

You Are Using More Gas Than You Need!

You Are Breaking Too Many Globes!

You Are Wasting Too Many Mantles!

because the pressure forces more gas through the pipes than is necessary to give you a good, steady, bright light.

The National Automatic Gas Light (Inverted)

has an automatic regulator which allows just enough gas (not too much or too little) to pass through at all times to make a perfect light, which prevents the wasting of gas, breaking of globes and mantles, and destruction of burners.

The National Automatic Gas Light gives a steady, full light downward of twice the candle power at half the cost of the vertical light and one-fifth the cost of electricity.

The National is the only light that is sold under a positive guarantee to do what we claim or money refunded.

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Under our guarantee you take no risk. Any dealer in lighting devices can supply you with the National at $1.75 each, boxed complete, or send direct for handsome booklet—"Seven Stages in Lighting."

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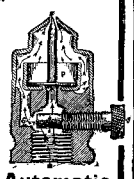
Caution: Insist on getting the National. Accept no other. The words—National Automatic—stamped on every regulator. You can see the pin point jump when the gas is turned on. Look for these features before purchasing.



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